AMERICAN CHARITIES

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BY

AMOS G. WARNER, PH.D.

LATE PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY; FORMERLY SUPERINTENDENT OF CHARITIES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, GENERAL AGENT OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF BALTIMORE; ETC.

REVISED BY

MARY ROBERTS COOLIDGE, PH.D.

FORMERLY ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE

BY

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, PH.D.

HEAD PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

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DEDICATED

TO

Mr. John Glenn

FORMERLY CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY

OF BALTIMORE

"The subject has great attractions: As science, because it links phenomena to phenomena, and reveals their laws; as philanthropy, because the knowledge of these laws may be used as a weapon to conquer the vice, the crime, the misery which science investigates."

—RICHARD L. DUGDALE.

"If I have rightly conceived the dominant idea of the modern philanthropy, it is embodied in a determination to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy."

—EDWARD T. DEVINE.

BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

On the appearance of Warner's "American Charities" fourteen years ago, its unique character was at once recognized. For that work is the first thoroughgoing scientific treatment of the most difficult and perhaps the most important of the ever widening group of sociological arts to which happily Professor Henderson has given the generic name of "social technology." It possesses an enduring, a vital quality which in the judgment of scholars has already won for it the rank of "classic in philanthropy." With remarkable clearness Dr. Warner perceived the new dynamic tendency which was destined soon to revolutionize economic and sociological thought. In the outset with trenchant phrase he exposes the sterility of the prevalent *laissez faire* dogma. "People are tired of the gospel of inaction," he exclaims, "and the teacher has been compelled to heed their demand for guidance in the doing of constructive work. . . . Students must be trained in a more generous political economy than that of Senior and Miss Martineau," if they are to achieve success in organized philanthropy.

Therefore the time is ripe for a new edition of the "American Charities." It is significant that in the statement of principles no essential change is required. The book deserves to be perpetuated because of its perennial scientific quality. This is the more remarkable considering that only two years ago, in Ward's epoch-making "Applied Sociology," appeared the first systematic discussion of the basic law which must govern all wise effort for social reform. The real function of education, of opportunity, is now better

understood; and in clearer view of the fact that intellectual man, as opposed to the lower animal, is capable of "transforming his environment," the pitiless and hopeless dogma of social *laissez faire* is effectually discredited. On the other hand, the statistics, illustrations, and other details have required many additions and a thorough revision. During the decade and a half since Warner wrote, an immense mass of work in special lines has been done. Almost every month adds to the number of organizations and swells the volume of technical or popular literature devoted to social self-help in its many related forms. Moreover, if there is need of putting the book abreast of the available materials, in a few cases there has been a decided change of public attitude which likewise demands recognition. This is true, notably, regarding the causes of poverty. "What Warner wrote on the causes of poverty," suggests the editor, "is now accepted as the best statement so far as it goes; but the discussion now centres around the standard of living."

In every way it is fortunate that Mrs. Coolidge has accepted the call to prepare the second edition of this standard work. It is fitting that the pupil, colleague, and friend of the author should take his place. By professional training and experience she is admirably equipped for the successful discharge of a public service which her relations with the author and his family must make a loving duty. After gaining valuable experience as teacher at Wellesley College, Mrs. Coolidge completed her academic training at Stanford, where Warner was then head of the department of economics. Under his direction, she studied for a year or more before taking her doctorate in practical sociology. This led to her being asked to undertake the course in charities when, on account of illness, Warner was compelled to give up his university duties. Afterwards she studied in the School of Philanthropy in New York, did

some practical charity work in that city, became closely connected with the Associated Charities of San Francisco, and gave the courses in Charities, Penology, the Family, and Race Problems at Stanford from 1897 to 1904. In 1906–1907 she acted as head of the South Park Settlement in San Francisco, while also taking part in the charity movements there. It is proper, likewise, to mention the more important of Dr. Coolidge's own published writings. Her monograph on "Almshouse Women" (1895), her study of the "Statistics of College and Non-College Women" (1901), and her book on the "History of Chinese Immigration" (1908) afford ample evidence of her literary and scientific powers. In preparing the original edition of the "American Charities," she aided Professor Warner in reading proof, verifying materials, and in making suggestions upon the last few chapters. Furthermore, before his death Warner expressed the wish that should the book ever go to a second edition Mrs. Coolidge might be asked to revise it.

Amos Griswold Warner was born at Elkader, Iowa, December 21, 1861. Three months earlier his father, a physician, had been instantly killed in an accident while returning from a professional visit. The son's salient traits of mind and character may readily be traced in those of his parents. The father, Dr. Amos Warner, was endowed with sound common sense and discriminating judgment. With independence of thought and great tenacity of opinion, he combined the happy faculty of winning friendship and of strongly attaching his friends to himself. These characteristics were enhanced in the son by the rich legacy which he inherited from his gifted mother. Mrs. Esther Carter Warner was a woman of rare strength and beauty of character. According to a friend who knew her for twenty years, "she was kindly and sympathetic, cheerful and active, tolerant, intelligent, firm and uncompromising

when principle was at stake, strong in body and in mind."[1] She was of the best material of which builders of new states are made; and her active interest in the great moral and social movements of the day was maintained almost to the time of her death, in 1901, at the age of eighty-two.

In 1864 the mother, with her four children, removed to the Territory of Nebraska, settling on a "homestead" near the present village of Roca, some twelve miles south of the plain on which Lincoln, the capital of the state, now stands. Here Warner grew to young manhood, gained a fair common school training, and conceived for country life the passionate fondness which he never lost. In 1878 he entered the preparatory department of the University of Nebraska. Outwardly, he was then a typical farmer lad: awkward of manner, his face tanned and freckled by exposure to sun and wind, his clothes of the severest country type. Yet soon it was perceived by us all that a rare mind had come among us. The enthusiastic youth threw himself heart and brain into all the larger and nobler activities which make up the modern academic life. He found himself citizen of a democratic society — a microcosm of the larger world beyond — in which he might enjoy the rights and privileges of a full franchise. He soon became a leader in student affairs — a pioneer in the upbuilding of collegiate institutions. Very important for him is the part which a youth takes in the making of the institutions which form the academic life. As he is strong or weak in that life, so is he likely to be in the future civic life. In many directions Warner made his influence felt, and always in a wholesome way, on the institutional growth of the University. In debate, on the college press, in the daily routine of the classroom, he bore his part ably and modestly as became the future leader of men.

To the discerning eye, Warner's work in college bore the

[1] Professor Laurence Fossler, in his Warner memorial address.

stamp of originality; but in the conventional sense he was not brilliant. Instead of aiming at uniform excellence in all his studies, he preferred to dwell upon those which appealed to him as most fruitful and most inspiring. His mind refused to be hampered by the shackles of routine. "His powers of concentration were great," writes one who was successively fellow-student, teacher, and colleague; "but he looked for the main point only — the central idea. He wasted little time on non-essentials or on useless details. Yet it would be an error to conclude that he did not master details when necessary; but for him they were only a means to an end. This power of discrimination between the important and the non-essential was one of the most characteristic traits of his genius. Strength and initiative marked his student career, rather than technical scholarship."[1]

Warner had a delicate sense of humor which has seldom been equalled. In later years it gave a pungent flavor to his speech and writing. In his student days it made him a leader in college fun — in true college fun; the kind which gives free expression to the joy and good-will of a manly but gentle soul never unmindful of the rights or the feelings of others. He was not found among those who, in the name of a college joke, delight in tormenting persons mentally or physically weaker than themselves; nor among those whose only claim to academic distinction is the wearing of good clothes; nor among those who seek a reputation for "manliness" by venturing on forbidden paths.

In another way Warner's originality and strength of character were disclosed. It was not his early purpose to enter on one of the so-called "higher" professions. He had decided to graduate and then to carry the culture which he had gained into a farmer's life. Only in his senior year, apparently, was this purpose given up. He then became deeply interested in historical studies. The influence which

[1] Professor H. W. Caldwell, on Warner, "The Teacher and Scholar."

definitively fixed his growing inclination to prepare himself for a scholar's career came to him through a piece of research work done in connection with a course of study in the history of the French Revolution. His thesis on the "Causes of the Jacobin Conquest" led him on to further mental achievement.

Accordingly, in the autumn of 1885, — three months after taking the bachelor's degree, — he entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in economics. Very soon, among the thirty or forty men gathered around the seminary table, by common consent Warner was cheerfully conceded the first rank.[1] His unusual success won for him a fellowship at the close of the first year of study. A few months later, in the beginning of 1887, — with more than a year's work yet to do before reaching the doctorate, — he received his first call to public service. One Sunday a characteristic address on some social problem attracted the notice of Mr. John Glenn, member of an old Maryland family, and deeply interested in practical philanthropy. As a result, Warner accepted an invitation to become the General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore. The plough-boy of Roca undertook this extremely difficult social service for the Southern metropolis, and he discharged his task with conspicuous success. His work drew the attention of the philanthropists of the entire country. His was essentially the creative task of a pioneer. An effective organization was developed. "He did not confine himself entirely to the sifting of the honest and deserving paupers from among the more numerous frauds," — for he drove vagrants from the city, — "but he became a student of the problems involved in pauperism, writing much and speaking frequently of his conclusions."[2] In the work of the Society he remained until the summer of 1889,

[1] According to the testimony of a fellow-student, Judge Lincoln Frost.
[2] Judge Lincoln Frost, on Warner, "The Graduate."

the year after he had taken the Ph.D. degree. Meantime, through mutual respect and admiration, Warner and Glenn had become fast friends. At the latter's instance, the General Secretary was permitted to name his own successor; and, equally significant, the "American Charities" is dedicated to "Mr. John Glenn, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore." "While he was secretary," declared the Society after Warner's death, "a great impetus was given to our work; and the progress made since his departure is largely due to the foundation laid by his good sense, energy, and devotion."

Now came his first call to teach. In September, 1889, as associate professor, Warner was placed in charge of the department of economics in the University of Nebraska. During the two years that he held this chair, he gave abundant proof of his originality of mind and of his extraordinary power as a teacher. He developed his course in the scientific study of industrial corporations — the first ever offered in an American university. His strength as a teacher was displayed, not so much in the ordinary routine of didactic instruction, but chiefly in the promotion of original research. Hence his personality and his methods appealed most powerfully to the graduate students of his seminary, where his alert and fertile mind fairly teemed with inspiring hints and with fruitful subjects for investigation. In harmony with this view is the judgment of Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, his colleague in the department of economics at Stanford. As evidenced by his writings, "Dr. Warner had the pioneering mind." His "teaching, too, was original. He loved to cut loose from texts and get at things. He had his students visit jails, almshouses and asylums, police courts and city halls, that they might see and judge for themselves. In these first-hand investigations and reports, his students developed a power they will

never lose. All who came near Dr. Warner felt the bracing ozone of his great common sense. Life on the farm had given him an instinct for reality which no doctrinaire could destroy. He was of the new victorious younger school of economists, and in his hands economics never became lifeless or dismal. In a day when isms were more rife than they are now, he kept his head clear and sent folly flying with a homely illustration or a pungent epigram."[1]

Then followed the second and most important call to public service. In 1891 he was selected by President Harrison to become the first Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia under the act which Congress had recently passed. The appointment was in no sense political. In fact it was opposed by both senators from Nebraska, who desired the office as a "plum" for an "old soldier" of their party. Through the influence of such men as John Glenn, Professor Ely, President Gilman, and Senator Dawes, the place came to him in recognition of the preëminent fitness which his administration of the charities of Baltimore had disclosed.[2] It was a post demanding hard work, signal ability, and rare tact in the management of men. The charities of the District were in a chaotic condition. The appropriations of Congress were distributed in a haphazard and ineffective way among a number of ecclesiastical and private philanthropic institutions. Any plan of the superintendent to apportion equitably and scientifically the funds hereafter to be pro-

[1] Ross, in the *Charities Review*, x. (March, 1900), p. 1.

[2] "Our friend, who was not an applicant for the place and merely knew that his name was on file with the President, was awakened at midnight one night and came down town to read the press despatch telling of his appointment. He took it with his usual calmness, but with a little more than his usual seriousness. The surprise did not throw him off his balance in the least. He saw not the honor that had come to him, but the responsibility. His thought was not of elation, but of determination to succeed." — WILL OWEN JONES, on Warner, "The Friend."

vided by Congress was sure to provoke selfish opposition. A powerful hostile lobby had to be overcome. How all difficulties eventually were surmounted and the great task of carrying out the design of the federal statute finally was accomplished cannot here be described. It must suffice to say that the suggestions regarding the details of organization and the appropriations of money submitted in Warner's two special reports were adopted and put in force by Congress; and thus a model system of organized charities was created for the national capital. Meantime he had achieved a supplementary work of great social value to the city. At his instance Congress had been induced to found a Board of Children's Guardians, an institution only second in importance to the charity organization itself.

Warner's second call to teach came from Stanford University in 1893, two years before his term as superintendent had expired. While serving the government in Washingington, he told the writer that he had decided not to take up professional academic work again. The influence which changed his mind and determined his coming to Stanford was the gift to that institution of the Hopkins Railway Library. Warner was deeply interested in railroad problems, as he was in all questions connected with industrial corporations; and now he saw an opportunity for a new institution — a railway school of unique character, one whose curriculum should comprehend not merely financial and economic problems, but practical courses in administration and engineering as well. Had his life been spared, probably in due time this ideal would have been realized, and so Stanford University would have had in history the distinction of founding the first railway school.

But this was not to be. When he began his work at Stanford, in the spring of 1893, his physical strength was already impaired by too strenuous labors in Washington. Toward the close of the academic year, in 1894, he wrote

the "American Charities." It was a fatal *tour de force.* Although in large measure the fruit of years of thought and experience, in its published form it was struck off in a very few weeks of incessant toil. Under this fearful strain his constitution began to yield, and during the ensuing summer its ruin was made complete through the exposure endured in an outing trip. In November, 1894, under his physician's advice, he gave up teaching and began what proved to be five years' vain search for health. The pathetic story of that heroic struggle is known and need be known only to his dearest friends. More and more brightly shone out the nobility of his character. Bravely and cheerfully he faced the inevitable, while always he was accompanied and cherished by his wise and courageous wife. His mind was ever busy with the great social problems which filled his intellectual life; and during much of this period his family was supported on the money earned by his remarkable articles in the *Record and Guide.* In the fall of 1897 he ventured to return to Stanford in the hope of taking up his teaching work again. The hope was vain; although it was at this time that he wrote and delivered those "Lay Sermons" in which so clearly his white soul is revealed. The end came after three more years of waiting and wandering. He died at Las Cruces, New Mexico, January 17, 1900. "Now he lies in the soil of his dear Nebraska, on a beautiful hill overlooking the little village of Roca and the broad valley and prairies beyond."[1]

On the fifth day of September, 1888, Warner married Miss Cora Ellen Fisher, an alumna of his *alma mater.* Two children, a girl and a boy, were born of their marriage. The wife and children are still living.

It would perhaps be misleading to assert that in the mere volume of his writings Warner's short life was uniquely productive as compared with other scholars of the first rank.

[1] Professor Laurence Fossler, in his Warner memorial address.

Yet his published bibliography,[1] though not exhaustive, shows that his pen was ever busy with helpful work. His reputation as an author and as a constructive scientific thinker must, of course, always rest chiefly on the "American Charities." Still, many of his minor papers and monographs are of distinct and lasting value. They hold an honorable place in the literature of the new dynamic economics and in that of the new scientific philanthropy. Ever Warner had an eye on the practical, striving to render science helpful to men. His thought is pervaded by the spiritual utilitarianism which is the mark of the fruitful scholarship of the modern age.

Among the writings of the formative period of his university life, giving earnest of his powers and displaying the characteristics of his style, are the "Sketches from Territorial History" (in *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 1887, ii., 18–63), an enlightening discussion from the sources of the episode of "wild-cat banks" and of some other incidents of Nebraska frontier days; and the "Three Phases of Coöperation in the West," published by the Johns Hopkins University in the useful pioneer volume devoted to the "History of Coöperation in the United States" (*Studies*, 1888, vi., 363–439). Perhaps the best examples of his utilitarian handling of scientific problems are "Some Experiments on Behalf of the Unemployed" (in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October, 1890), and "Railway Problems in a Western State" (in *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1891). The last-named paper is still the only helpful discussion of the early phase of railroad building in Nebraska through the aid of subsidies supplied by local taxation. It is fitting also to emphasize the "Economic Notes regarding Luxury" (in *A.A.A.S.*, 1889, xxxviii.,); for, although during the two

[1] Appended to the "Lay Sermons" (1904), 67–70; also in *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (1904), xxii., 481–484.

decades which have since elapsed the meaning of luxury among human wants considered as social forces has become more and more important as a factor in the problem of social evolution, Warner's luminous discussion remains one of the most helpful which the sociological student can take in hand. Nor should the hundred unsigned editorials contributed to the New York *Record and Guide* be overlooked.[1] Many of these were produced, partly in solution of the bread-and-butter question, during that long and tragic grapple with the dread disease. They teem with the wise and brave thoughts of a sane and well-filled mind. Often written when the author was far away from books, yet always the subject is handled with a firm grasp. Moreover, there was no dearth of topics; for upon his eager and open mind ever crowded more themes than his bi-weekly manuscript could compass.

The four "Lay Sermons" (Johns Hopkins University, 1904), with a bibliography and an introductory biographical sketch, were published as a memorial by his friends. These sermons were delivered at Stanford University in the autumn of 1897, and the author must have felt they were a farewell message to his students. They are indeed a precious legacy from a teacher whose daily life was a sermon inspiring to noble effort. His character expresses the ethical value of the clean-hearted, single-minded, brave, and cultured teacher. "Others have spoken of the justness of his judgments," exclaims Professor Charles Newton Little; "to me he was the sane man always." To the present writer, who had the honor of being counted among his teachers, his colleagues, and his intimate friends, there is no more inspiring lesson than that afforded by the brief career of Amos Griswold Warner. Behold the country lad as he swiftly rises to the highest academic honors! See him as with

[1] Only about two-thirds of the whole number of these articles are listed in the printed bibliography.

master hand he skilfully grapples with the hard social problems of two great cities! In his "American Charities" he laid the lasting foundation of a science, while in his course on Industrial Corporations he organized an important branch of another. But there is something more precious than all these things: the influence for social righteousness ever reflected from his pure heart and lofty mind. One may compare it in its results to a diamond cast into the water. The circling waves of moral and intellectual influence recede and spread away until they break on the uttermost shores of time.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
July 1, 1908.

REVISER'S NOTE.

WARNER'S "Charities" was the first attempt to cover systematically the field of American charities and to formulate, at the same time, the principles of relief which had been evolved from a century of benevolence. Since it was written, — and, in part, because it was written, — the horizon of charities has immensely widened; many valuable books dealing with special lines of charity have been published, and a few, from different points of view, have treated the same subjects.

In bringing the book down to date, the reviser has been careful not to alter the distinctive color which Professor Warner gave to his book and which constitutes its chief value and charm. Nor has there been occasion, except in a few instances, to restate the principles laid down by him. Warner saw what was permanent and vital, but the developments of the past fifteen years have made it necessary to insert a wholly new chapter on the Facts and Conditions of Poverty, in order to round out his discussion of the causes of poverty in a direction for which no material of record existed when he wrote.

This second edition is re-dedicated to Professor Warner, in acknowledgment of the debt which the reviser owes to him as a student, and in the hope that with it his influence upon American charity will be perpetuated.

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PART I.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL.

PART I.

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CHAPTER I.

PHILANTHROPY AND THE SCIENCES.

THE science of political economy, as we know it, is hardly more than a century old; while the art of aiding the poor has been practised from time immemorial. When the patriarch Job was justifying himself, he spoke of his work for the unfortunate in language which is still considered suitable for describing an ideal philanthropist, and which in part is now used as a motto by several charity organization societies.[1] Before Christianity was a power, and far beyond the influence of the Hebrew faith, the instinct of sympathy for those in distress prompted to kindly acts which philosophers commended and religious leaders enjoined. An imposing array of texts exhorting to charity, and prescribing the methods of it, may be gleaned from the pagan writers of antiquity. The beggar is known to almost all literatures with which we are acquainted; and where beggars are, there must also be those that give. In China, long before the Christian era, there were refuges for the aged and sick poor, free schools for poor children, free eating-houses for wearied laborers, associations for the dis-

[1] "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. . . . I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor: and the cause which I knew not I searched out."

tribution of second-hand clothing, and societies for paying the expenses of marriage and burial among the poor.[1]

Intermittently from the first, the altruistic instinct seems to have been reënforced, or its acts counterfeited, by egoistic instincts, originating in educational, or political, or religious considerations. The first of these subsidiary motives was doubtless the weakest of the three. The desire to promote self-culture by development of the benevolent impulses is largely a modern form of selfishness, and yet we find traces of it among the ancients.

Formerly, as now, political considerations frequently led to acts of charity when the motive was absent. Free or greatly cheapened corn for the Roman people, though nominally only rendering to them what was their own, was, in fact, a mischievous gratuity; and while sympathy for the people undoubtedly actuated many who favored the largesses, yet the efficient cause of their continual increase was political self-seeking.[2] So the legislation for the better care of exposed infants, and for the support of young women with children (Puellae Faustinianae), of the later Roman Empire resulted partly from sympathy for the unfortunates, and largely from a wish to fill up the depleted ranks of the Roman and Italian population.

The commonest and most powerful incentive to benevolence has been everywhere and at all times that supplied by religion. Any impulse or habit that is for the good of the race is likely in the course of time to be fixed and intensified by religious sanctions. Almost all customs, including the organization of the family and of the government, and even habits of dress, diet, and cleanliness, have

[1] See Crooker, "Problems in American Society," chapter on "Scientific Charity," for this and other references to antiquity.

[2] The indiscriminate granting of pensions to the Union soldiers of the Civil War results from the same mixed motives, among which political considerations are the final and efficient cause of mischievously reckless disbursements.

been thus confirmed. For present purposes we need not bother ourselves with teleological considerations, nor inquire whether the useful impulses and habits originated in a divine command supernaturally revealed, or whether they had their origin in spontaneous variation or rational adaptation, and were then seized upon, and perpetuated by the religious instincts. To whatever source we may trace the sentiment of pity and the desire to relieve the destitute, it certainly had not been in existence long before its cultivation was enjoined by religious authority.

Religion, however, like the subsidiary motives based on educational or political considerations, has too frequently substituted self-seeking for self-sacrifice as the motive power in aiding the poor. Mr. Crooker well says that the charity of antiquity was very largely "a means of obtaining merit." "The riches of the infinite God," says the Vendidad, "will be bestowed upon him who relieves the poor;" or, according to a Hindu epic, "He who giveth without stint food to a fatigued wayfarer, never seen before, obtaineth merit that is great." It was when Job was justifying himself that he enumerated his works of mercy.

On the other hand, while rewards were offered for benevolent work, punishments were promised for hard-heartedness. The grim threat of the Talmud, "The house that does not open to the poor shall open to the physician," is typical of many passages that might be quoted from the earlier religious writings. Under the influence of such threats or of more direct ones, believers felt constrained to aid the poor for purely selfish reasons, to do some overt act that seemed to have been prescribed, in order that it might be accounted to them for righteousness. Subjectively considered, the act itself was not one of charity, but of penance; its motive was not a desire to aid the distressed, but to propitiate a more or less unreasonable deity or fate.

The influence of religion upon the benevolent instincts of

man can be studied in nearly all its phases in the history of charities administered by the Christian church; and in that history can be traced the power of an accepted theology both to exalt and to degrade the charitable impulse. While the antiquarian may be able to point out many traces of active benevolence before the Christian era, while there is much genuine philanthropy outside of Christianity, and while it may even be said that the church of the present day that administers its charities most wisely is not Christian at all, but Jewish, — it yet remains true that charity, as we know it, gets its chief religious sanction and incentive from Him who gave as the summary of all the law and prophets the coördinate commands to love God and to love our neighbor, and who, in explaining these commands, pronounced the parable of the Good Samaritan. At first, Christianity brought to the world a purified and ennobled charity, a love of fellow-men very different from the semi-selfish motives that prompted to prayer, penance, and almsgiving as means to a common end — that of securing divine favor. The diaconate of the early church seems to have been a satisfactory way of organizing what is now called "friendly visiting."

But the voluntary and congregational charity of the early churches before Constantine was soon replaced by the mediæval ecclesiastical methods of parishes, bishops, monasteries, orders, and institutions, and with the worldly success of the church came degeneration.[1] As the church became an institution administering progressively large revenues, its service of the poor degenerated, partly from worldliness, and partly from "other-worldliness." Overt worldliness, leading to the misapplication of revenues designed for the relief of the poor, sometimes attained great proportions and was a tendency that honest ecclesiastics found it necessary to fight continually. But such palpable evils wrought little harm, as compared with the dry rot of spiritual selfishness,

[1] Henderson, "World Currents in Charity."

which caused charity to degenerate into almsgiving for the benefit of the one who gave. The doctrine of Augustine that "alms have power to extinguish and expiate sin," though taught only with qualifications, became the motive power in the charities of the Middle Ages. Gifts to the church for charitable purposes became merely a method of securing a satisfactory balance on the books of the recording angel, a way of getting one's self or others out of purgatory.

As an agent for securing gifts both of property and of personal service the church was almost incredibly successful. If the devotion of material wealth to the relief of the poor could alone have cured destitution, it would have been cured. But we are all familiar with the disastrous results that followed so much indiscriminate giving. A rich church among a multitude of poor, which Emminghaus declares to have been always the ecclesiastical ideal, did not prove a satisfactory arrangement. When Hubert-Valleroux, in discussing the rural charities of France, shows that all the great charitable institutions of that country originally owed their existence to the influence of Christianity through the church, he is historically correct. But when he makes this statement of fact the basis of a plea for the non-intervention of the state in the present administration of charitable institutions, he is wrong; for the history of charitable institutions shows that, while they originated through the influence of the church, it was also through ecclesiastical influence that they degenerated and became mischievous.

The state interfered for many reasons, some of them certainly unworthy; but one sufficient cause was everywhere present — ecclesiastical mismanagement, and the necessity the community was under to protect itself from the spreading disease of pauperism. "In no case," says Lecky, "was the abolition of monasteries effected in a more indefensible manner than in England, but the transfer of property, that was once employed in a great measure in charity, to the

courtiers of King Henry was ultimately a benefit to the English poor; for no misapplication of this property by private persons could produce as much evil as an unrestrained monasticism."[1]

In almost every European country, the state first tried to stop beggary and vagabondage by repressive measures, and only when these failed was obliged to assail the evil at one of its sources by taking charge of relief work. This work was taken in hand by the state in Scandinavia at a very early period, in England at the time of the Reformation, in France at the time of the Revolution, and in Italy within the last few years. In Germany, Luther suggested that the church and state should work together to root out beggary, and to lessen as much as possible the misery caused by destitution and disease. The religious wars that followed the Reformation in that country interfered with the immediate transfer of relief work to the state. "The Protestant authorities," says Emminghaus, "were not more prudent than their predecessors where valuable property of the church for the benefit of the poor remained; and wherever the care of the poor was still in ecclesiastical hands, the only alteration in the way in which it was conducted arose from the fact that the church had less abundant means at its disposal. But," he adds, "this fact alone may be considered a great gain, for abundance of means is the greatest danger of all in the relief of the poor."[2]

From what has been said regarding the failure of the church as an almoner, it must not be inferred that its influence was wholly perverse and mischievous. On the contrary, even Lecky, whose opinion as to the good effects of the secularization of the monastic properties in England has been already noticed, says that the value of Catholic services in alleviating pain and sickness and the more excep-

[1] "History of European Morals," vol. ii., pp. 94–95.
[2] "Poor Relief in Different Parts of Europe," p. 13.

tional forms of suffering can never be overrated; and even in the field of charity he says: "We must not forget the benefits resulting, if not to the sufferer, at least to the donor. Charitable habits, even when formed in the first instance from selfish motives, even when so misdirected as to be positively injurious to the recipient, rarely fail to exercise a softening and purifying influence on character. All through the darkest period of the Middle Ages, amid ferocity and fanaticism and brutality, we may trace the subduing influence of Catholic charity, blending strangely with every excess of violence and every outburst of persecution."[1] In fact, the church educated the community up to a point where it insisted that a large amount of relief work must be done, and only in attempting to administer large funds did the ecclesiastical machinery work badly and break down. It was inevitable that the state should undertake relief work, but that relief work, and the great access of sympathy for our fellow-men which compelled it, would never have existed except for the influence of the church. But the change from ecclesiastical administration of relief to administration by the state hardly seemed for a time to be an improvement at all. In various parts of Europe public charities were at times as inadequate to meet the necessities of the poor or to improve their industrial condition as those under the church had been. In England at the beginning of the nineteenth century as much was heard of the failure of the poor law as of the monastic system of poor-relief. This administrative weakness had already drawn attention to the economic aspects of poor-relief. Defoe, for example, in his paper on "Giving Alms No Charity," said that the reason why so many pretended to want to work was that they could live so well with the pretence of wanting work. Ricci, in a book on the reform of the institutions of charity in Modena,[2] traced the gigantic development of mendicancy in Italy to the

[1] Lecky, vol. ii., p. 95.

[2] Published in 1787.

excessive charity of the people. He seemed to regard as an evil "all charity which sprang from religious motives, and was greater than would spring from the unaided instincts of man."[1]

This appeal to a natural man back of the actual man influenced by religion and law, marks Ricci as one moved by the spirit of the times which immediately preceded the French Revolution. This time-spirit influenced the relief of the poor in two ways: one through politics, and one through economics or political economy. Liberty and equality were the two words which represented the regnant ideas of the times. The religious dogma of the brotherhood of man was paralleled by the political dogma of the equality of man, and the result was a tendency to relieve distress with greater promptness and completeness. The revolutionary governments of France guaranteed to all not only opportunities to work, but security against starvation, and the facile manner in which the state in that country still assumes the care of abandoned infants perhaps shows the influence of such philosophers as Rousseau, who believed that children should be raised by the state, and who gladly turned over his own children to be brought up by that agency. Indirectly it is probable that the belief in the political dogma of the equality of men also influenced the administration of the English poor-law, until it culminated in the great abuses which compelled the reforms of 1834. But liberty, not equality, was the first word in the sociological creed of the revolutionary period from 1789 to 1848. And while this word was constantly used by the politicians, the group of men who stood most consistently for it in industrial affairs were the students of the new-born science of political economy.

The earlier economists had little to say regarding the relief of the poor, though the subject was mentioned by Sir

[1] Cited by Lecky, vol. ii., p. 98.

James Steuart and Adam Smith, and others took up the subject of the English poor-laws. It received very full consideration, however, in Malthus's work on the "Principle of Population," where he gave two chapters to the English poor-law and two other excellent ones to the consideration of certain proposals for improving the condition of the poor. Many of the extracts from chapter nine of the second edition of his work might serve as mottoes for modern charity organization societies; though it would not be expedient to use them, since people have insisted on connecting with the name of this English clergyman so much that is brutal and materialistic and hopeless. As a matter of fact, he does not deprecate the exercise of charity, and would even give to it a much broader field than that recently accorded to it by Herbert Spencer; but he calls attention to the fact that there is no direction in which human ingenuity has been more exerted than in the endeavor to ameliorate the condition of the poor, and that there is certainly none in which it has so completely failed. "There is no subject," he adds, "to which general principles have been so seldom applied; and yet, in the whole compass of human knowledge, I doubt if there be one in which it is so dangerous to lose sight of them, because the partial and immediate effects of a particular mode of giving assistance are so often directly opposite to the general and permanent effects."[1]

Among the economists of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Whately and Chalmers dealt quite extensively with the poor-law and the problems of poor-relief. Chalmers enforced his teachings in this matter by doing away with public relief of the poor in his parish, and providing for their care entirely through voluntary contributions. He believed that all public relief of the poor was bad; and, besides what is contained in his political economy, he wrote upon the subject at length in the three volumes which appear

[1] "Principle of Population," 2d ed., p. 583.

under the title of "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns."

In the second quarter of the century the economists and philanthropists were destined to come into direct collision. They joined issues on two questions, and the victors in one case were vanquished in the other. Curiously enough, each party was defeated on the ground that seemed especially to belong to itself. The economists won in the fight for the reform of the poor-laws, and the philanthropists won in the fight for the protection of women and children in the mines and factories of England. The English economists in their contention for the limitation of the poor-law relief, and for a repeal of the corn-laws, rendered great services to English industry by simply abolishing governmental interference. It is not strange, therefore, that they should have been inclined to go to the extreme in thinking that government could never interfere without doing more harm than good.

The English poor-law, before its reform in 1834, is used by Francis A. Walker to point the moral that while "the legislator may think it hard that his power for good is so closely restricted, he has no reason to complain of any limits upon his power for evil." Describing the operations of the act, Walker says: —

> "All its details were unnecessarily bad. The condition of the person who threw himself flat upon public charity was better than that of the laborer who struggled on to preserve his manhood in self-support. The disposition to labor was cut up by the roots. All restraints upon increase of population disappeared under a premium upon births. Self-respect and social decency vanished before a money premium on bastardy."

Professor Senior was an active member of the commission of inquiry regarding the operations of the poor-law, and for some time the reports of the poor-law commission were written in line with the views of the economists. It was while reviewing these reports that Carlyle characterized

political economy as "the dismal science." He thus summarizes the teachings of the economists as evidenced in the reports: —

"Ours is a world requiring only to be well let alone. Scramble along, thou insane scramble of a world; thou art all right and shall scramble even so. And whoever in the press is trodden down has only to lie there and be trampled broad; such at bottom seems to be the chief social principle, if principle it have, which the poor-law amendment act has the merit of courageously asserting, in opposition to many things."

A similar view of the disastrous effects of the poor-law administration is expressed by Cunningham, who says: —

"It is impossible to overestimate the irreparable mischief which was done to Englishmen for many generations through the demoralizing influences exercised by some of the administrative methods then in use. The granting of allowances per child has been freely stigmatized as a mischievous stimulus to population; as a matter of fact, it was much worse; there is abundant evidence to show that it acted as a direct incentive to immorality. But the evil of the whole system was most patent from the various ways in which it conspired to render the inefficient pauper comfortable at the expense of the good workman who tried to earn a living. The allowance must have had an extraordinary effect in diminishing the rate of wages and forcing men to depend upon supplementary payments out of rates; and an even worse mischief in some ways was the labor rate; by this system a ratepayer was obliged to employ a certain number of pauper laborers in accordance with his assessment and to pay them regular wages without reference to their work. An employer might thus be forced to dismiss good hands in order to give employment to inefficient paupers."[1]

It may be questioned, however, whether the earlier interpretation of the results of the poor-laws has not overlooked other factors of equal if not superior importance in the wretched condition of the English working-classes of this period. Marshall declares: —

"Year by year the condition of the working-classes in England be-

[1] "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," vol. ii., pp. 662–663.

came more gloomy: an astonishing series of bad harvests, a most exhausting war, a change in the methods of industry that dislocated old ties, combined with an injudicious poor-law to bring the working-classes into the greatest misery they have ever suffered, at all events since the beginning of trustworthy records of English social history."[1]

In a brief historical review of the political and industrial changes which took place just before the reform of the English poor-laws, Devine protests against the dominant idea that the lax administration of relief was solely or even chiefly responsible for the deplorable prevalence of pauperism in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He says: —

"England was saved from pauperization, revolution, and other unforeseen disasters, not by deciding to distribute less relief or by deciding that the able-bodied poor, if assisted at all, should be assisted only in the workhouse, wise as these decisions were, but by the rise of religious and political liberty, by introducing in advance of other countries modern forms of agriculture and industry, by developing her commerce and trade, by the adoption of a more nearly democratic organization of society, and by listening to the voice of humane and public-spirited counsels. The lessening of the poor rates was made practicable by and was not the principal cause of the progress of the period."[2]

Seligman regards the abuses of the early nineteenth century as chiefly due to the change from the domestic to the factory system. "The old poor-law," he says, "did not create English poverty, and the new poor-law did not abolish it."[3]

But whatever view be taken of the relative significance of the poor-law and of poor-law reform as an explanation of the misery of English laborers and their subsequent progress, the economists of the time were right in standing out for the restriction and modification of public poor-relief.

[1] "Principles of Economics," p. 233.
[2] "Principles of Relief," pp. 276–277.
[3] "Principles of Economics," p. 594.

The laxness of administration may have come in part from the humanitarian bearings of the doctrine of political equality and in part from greater actual need, resulting from the war taxes, the primitive methods of agriculture, industry, and commerce, and other unreformed features of English life of that period; but whatever its cause, it had become by 1832 wholly mischievous. Even if regarded as merely one element in a transitional period, it still is no exception to the established principle that the offer of relief upon easy terms is demoralizing.

In the other struggle of the same period, that for factory legislation, the economists and philanthropists were distinctly opposed; but this time it was the economists that were deservedly beaten. The issue involved the welfare of three hundred thousand operatives, male and female, in the factories of England, and of forty thousand children under thirteen years of age. The question was complicated with many political considerations and was championed by the conservatives, not so much perhaps because the country gentlemen sympathized with the mill-hands, as because it seemed a method by which they could get even with the representatives of the manufacturing towns for the repeal of the corn-laws. Lord Ashley, afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, leader in the fight for the protection of the operatives, is now acknowledged to have been actuated by the purest motives; but at the time he was bitterly attacked as a "humanity-monger" by the practical men who opposed him. Cobden, in a private letter, sneered at this "canting" and joined with Professor Senior and Miss Martineau in supplying the scientific weapons of offence and defence for such men as John Bright and Gladstone and Peel and Lord Brougham among the politicians.

A majority of economists, both in and out of Parliament, were against the factory acts. Indeed, nearly all the arguing that was done on economic grounds was against the acts.

In a paper which, curiously enough, is the Cobden prize essay for 1891, Jeans observes:—

"Lord Shaftesbury and his opponents played a veritable game of cross questions. They attacked him, for instance, with the threatened ruin of English trade, and the pauperization of the working-class, and he would reply by pointing to the great sanitary or moral or religious benefits which must accrue."[1]

As the Earl of Shaftesbury himself said: "To practical prophecies of overthrow of trade, of ruin to the operatives themselves, I could only oppose 'humanity' and general principles."[2] Sir John Russell is said to have been converted to support the acts, not by labored arguments, but by being induced to walk back and forth in his parlor for a time over a track similar to that which many of the child operatives had to travel for twelve or more hours a day.

It was sympathy for the operatives, not an appreciation of the good results to be got for English industry by the factory acts, that secured their passage. As the Encyclopædia Britannica puts it, "they were passed in the name of the moral and physical health of the community." Yet Shaftesbury's speech of May, 1847, and Macaulay's speech on the ten-hour bill, gave evidence of what a strong case might have been made out for the acts on economic grounds; but these were almost the only examples of such argumentation.[3]

Although Professor Fawcett, as late as 1878, opposed from his seat in Parliament that part of the consolidated factory acts intended to protect adult women operatives, there is now substantial agreement among economists that Macaulay's position was well taken. Factory legislation, instead of ruining British industry, reëstablished its foundations.

[1] "Factory Act Legislation," p. 20.

[2] Hodder, "Life of Shaftesbury," vol. ii., p. 209.

[3] The key-note of Macaulay's telling speech is struck in this sentence from it: "Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better can ultimately make it poorer."—*Speeches*, vol. xi., p. 28.

Some of the parliamentary opponents of the early bills voted for the later ones, and, in publicly recanting, expressly said that they had been misled by the economists and "the gentlemen from Lancashire." The debt owing to the economists for the reform of the poor-laws, the philanthropists had paid.

The experience of England in these two matters very well illustrates the interaction of sense and sympathy in the direction of human affairs. The discussions in the houses of Parliament, between the so-called "humanity-mongers" and the students of the so-called "dismal science," have their counterpart in the opposing considerations which suggest themselves to every thinking man who tries to aid the poor. If our instincts were all healthy, or our intellects all perfect, we could rely upon either side of our nature without fear of blundering. But, as in the case of English legislation, first one party blundered and then the other, so each man, in threading his way along the devious paths of conduct, must sometimes put rational restraints upon his emotions, and at other times must be content to let "his instincts save him from his intelligence." This principle, which holds in national and personal affairs, holds also in the formulation of a true social philosophy. Such a philosophy must recognize that the instincts of men very commonly have their origin or their justification in race experience, and that they are sometimes a more trustworthy guide than reasoning which is conceivably inaccurate, or which may be based on information which is possibly incomplete.

If economics has had some influence on philanthropy, the philanthropic instincts of men are finally coming to have some influence in compelling the broadening of political economy. They dominate too much legislation and determine the expenditure of too much wealth to be left out of account. As we have seen, they are not only powerful, but at times indispensably helpful; and, even if it were possible to ignore them, it would be unwise to do so.

But for two or three decades that branch of social philosophy known as political economy seemed bound, so far as England was concerned, to discredit itself by not recognizing this truth. Its teachings were too final and dogmatic to be influential or even true. Cromwell's exhortation to the theologians of his time might properly have been addressed to the English economists from 1850 to 1880: "In the bowels of the Lord, I beseech you, brethren, consider it possible that you may be mistaken!" Indeed, equivalent exhortations were addressed to them, but without effect. In the United States a few professors of political economy echoed or attacked Manchestrian economics, but for the most part they had no influence. This country was too young to bother with industrial science. Its resources seemed to be so inexhaustible that no thought was given to conserving them. Least of all was it imagined that we need give serious attention to the matter of poor-relief. It was assumed that we were quarantined against poverty and distress by our glorious Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Scarcely a generation ago a writer in the New York *Nation*, when reviewing a work on French charities, half apologized for treating such a subject, but suggested in extenuation that, *if* we should ever have to organize a system of charities, French experience might be a useful guide. Nevertheless, at that moment were already arising problems of destitution, unemployment, and family disintegration, which have kept pace with the movement of population toward cities and manufacturing centres, and which were in part the result of an undistributed foreign immigration. With the beginning of the twentieth century, America has realized the possibility in these congested localities of conditions as desperate as those with which some parts of Europe have long been familiar.

Thus, in the century following Malthus and Chalmers, philanthropy and economics have gradually been approaching each other, and are now welded into a friendly and in-

dissoluble partnership. An increasing body of students, trained in a more generous political economy than that of Senior and Miss Martineau, are seeking technical discipline in schools of philanthropy in order to devote themselves to professional, administrative, and constructive work in charities. Dismal scientists and humanity-mongers have joined forces for the betterment of society; the economists, on the one hand, recognizing altruism as a fundamental motive of progress; the philanthropists, on the other, giving more and more weight to the economic bearings of all social reform. Simultaneously with increasing demands for systematic charity, a broader and more human political economy has been taking the place of that dismal *laissez-faire* which so vehemently opposed the reforms of English philanthropy. On this side of the Atlantic the renaissance in economics came even earlier than in England, and in many schools it has dealt more directly and thoroughly with the problems of philanthropy than is usual abroad. The Manchestrian economists made slight and for the most part merely negative contributions to the subject, but from the time of Marshall in England and Walker in the United States, every economist has given it a respectful and more or less extended treatment.

In all the larger American colleges courses in causes of poverty, charities, and penology are now given either by the professors of the economics department or by a separate staff in a distinct department under the title of *sociology;* and in a few, other courses of a more constructive character develop still further the economic aspects of altruism. As a recent economist expresses it:—

> "The modern theory of economic life fits in not only with the facts of the business world, but with the demands of social reform. The economics of to-day has finally reached the stage where it seeks to retain the cold passivity of science and yet to reflect the warm glow of human interests and living ideals."

While philanthropy and economics, starting from opposite poles, have been approaching each other and have at last found a common meeting ground, both have at the same time been strongly influenced by the biological sciences. Setting aside the effect of the evolutionary hypothesis upon economic thought, its immediate application to philanthropy raised the question as to whether the ultimate influence of charity in the natural history of mankind was good or evil.[1] Spencer's dictum that the result of shielding people from the consequence of their folly is to fill the world with fools, was indeed no new alarm. Plato, more than two thousand years ago, warned his countrymen of the degradation in store for any nation which perpetuated the unfit by allowing its citizens to breed from enervated stock; and he sketched for them an imaginary republic in which no considerations of inheritance, of family ties, or of pity were permitted to stand in the way of the elimination of the weak and the perfection of the race.[2] But the evolutionists used the new scientific phraseology, declaring that philanthropy and science promoted the survival of the unfit, who reproduced themselves in an enfeebled progeny, and that this interference with the struggle for existence was pernicious. They maintained that civilization itself developed sympathy, which, in turn, devised methods for protecting the weak, and thus the law of progress was reversed. Moreover, it was said that philanthropy not only perpetuated the weak, but in its essence sacrificed the strong to the weak, as shown by the increase of institutions for the insane, the defective, and incapable, and the devotion of humane persons and vast sums of money to their care.[3]

At this period, from the biological point of view, there were only two ways of improving the human race: the one by selection, the other by heredity. If the selective pro-

[1] Bagehot, "Works," vol. iv., p. 556.
[2] Cummings, *Quar. Jour. of Economics*, vol. xii., 1898.
[3] Ely, "Evolution of Industrial Society," p. 165.

cesses were suspended from philanthropic motives, there was still opportunity to improve the race, independently of selection, by seeing to it that individuals acquired the characteristics that it was desirable for them to transmit. Just when it seemed to be settled that the only way to improve mankind was by training in a carefully adjusted environment, Professor Weismann appeared with his denial that there was any proof of the transmission of acquired characters. He showed that many of the resemblances of children to parents which had been attributed to heredity were merely the result of similar environment, contending that change of environment and special training affected only the individual, whose life-history could not be passed on to the offspring.

This view not only made valueless much that had been written on the bearing of heredity upon social life and environment, but to some it seemed to make the improvement of the race painfully slow, if not almost hopeless, since the only permanent gain must be made through the selective processes. Others, with a better understanding of the full import of the theory in its application to human life, pointed out that whatever environment might not do for the race it was concededly of the highest importance for the individual. Professor Warner, in the first edition of this book, written shortly after Weismann's conclusions had been published, said: —

"It should also be remembered that among the higher animals, and especially among human beings, the individual is more plastic than in the lower orders; his life-history, and especially the history of his very early life, has more influence upon his character. Therefore, while we must give attention to selection, we cannot conclude that certain families are degenerate and essentially unfit to survive until we have given their offspring the very best opportunities for right development. I would say, then, that to assume Weismann to be right — acquired characteristics to be not transmitted — is possibly the safest working hypothesis, because, on the one hand, it does not limit our efforts

to improve environment, while, on the other hand, it gives us a sharp realization of the importance of selection, a factor which we are otherwise prone to forget or to undervalue. To whatever extent heredity may be ascertained to be a factor in determining character and the consequent career, substantially to that extent the problem of preventing the suffering that comes from destitution is a question of human selection."

A part of the confusion arising from the application of later biological theory came from the inaccurate use of the term "natural selection," as though nature were something apart from man to which he must submit and might not modify. In this sense, natural selection is not only a harsh but expensive way of improving the species. Among men, however, natural selection, in the sense in which that term would be applied to the killing off of young oak trees, is very much modified by two important factors: instinct and reason. The best example of the first is the parental instinct, which causes the parent to stand between the offspring and the remorseless operations of nonsentient nature. Instinctive selection is a step toward something better than natural selection, something more economical of time and energy and life; but it is still a blind and wasteful advance. The excessive development of the sexual instinct, which at one time is necessary to the survival and dominance of the race, may at another become a menace to its welfare. It must then be dominated by reason or by other instincts, or the race will disappear. The instinct of the fighter, once necessary to preserve him in the rude struggles of the time, may at another time leave him a savage in a society which hangs the too combative individual as a murderer. Reason, the second factor in natural selection as applied to human beings, is illustrated when a state enacts laws against murder, or endeavors to establish any other rule of justice than that of the strongest; when it drains a malarial swamp, or provides for sanitary inspection in order to lower the death-

rate; whenever, in short, any action is taken for the set purpose of affecting the death-rate, or the birth-rate, or of promoting the public health. Mr. Ritchie has reminded us that if we are to let purely "natural" selection do its perfect work, we must abolish marriage laws and all laws relative to the inheritance of property.

Rational selection at first, and at its poorest, is only a shade better than instinctive selection. But it is manifest that, at its best and in its possibilities, it is the superior of the other two forms; and those races will eventually survive which practise it most constantly and most wisely. This indicates what is the simple truth, that human "natural selection," could we but understand the latter term in its broadest sense, includes all three, — nonsentient, instinctive, rational, — being made up of the total of selective forces operating upon the human species.

Benevolence has usually operated only on the plane of instinctive selection; but on the whole, even so, it has introduced some improvements into human selection, made that selection less wasteful, and reached results with less expenditure of energy and life. Its services to the species in keeping those who were "fit," from the standpoint of race improvement, from being crushed by temporary and local conditions, overbalance its tendency to keep the essentially "unfit" in existence.

The most obvious result of charity as a selective force has been to lengthen the lives of the individuals cared for. There are many who believe it to be in and of itself a uniformly desirable result. They hold that no spark of human life can be extinguished without greater indirect loss than the direct gain which comes in freedom from the necessity of supporting the individual. They would care with all tenderness for the most misshapen, physically and morally, until death could no longer be postponed. As the author has stood by the beds of consumptive or syphilitic children,

he has wondered if it was a kindness to keep life in the pain-racked body. Cure was out of the question so far as medical science now knows, and one wonders why days of pain should be added to days of pain. The same questions recur as one passes through the incurable wards of an almshouse, especially as one studies the cases of the cancer patients. The answer of religion to such questions is easy, and it seems very sure that without religious incentive we should not have entertained our present views regarding the sanctity of human life.

But now that the feeling is developed, even science can explain in some sort how it is expedient that it should exist. We cannot extinguish or in any wise connive at the extinction of human life without injury to all the instincts and sensibilities that render it possible for us to live together with our fellows in civilized society. The decline of the death penalty as punishment for the most heinous crimes, the secrecy in which its rare enforcement is now enshrouded, and the substitution of the electric current for the axe and the rope testify to the recognition of this principle. Modern society can afford to incur any expense and trouble to preserve the humane instinct in those who represent its laws. Frequently physicians and matrons and superintendents of institutions become so callous to suffering, and so worn out by overstrain, that they almost connive at the extinction of human life. For instance, in the case of a child suffering from hydrocephalus and beyond hope of cure, only the most constant attention could keep him alive; the matron finally somewhat relaxed her vigilance in seeing that he was properly cared for, and indigestion carried him off. This failure to do all that is possible to combat disease is common in many institutions, usually without any consciousness of a willingness to facilitate death, but none the less with a latent feeling that possibly those that die are happier than those that live.

All such neglect of duty is a coming short of the highest ideal of philanthropy, no less than of religion. While physicians may sometimes be justified in chloroforming a monstrous birth, and while, far off, philosophers think they see the coming of a day when we may have legal suicides, and when we can take human life because we are pitiful, and not because we are selfish,[1] yet for the present it must be held that science justifies and philanthropy corroborates Christianity in holding that each spark of human life must be conserved in all tenderness and with all care.[2]

Eventually this policy compels us to search for causes of degeneration and suffering. Could we cheaply rid ourselves of incapables and close our hearts to the appeal of distress, we might never have the compulsion put upon us of seeking out the wiser plans, which may eventually give us a more uniformly healthy race. Extermination might be an easy cure for pauperism, but it would be a costly remedy biologically; and if we allow our instincts to compel us to forego the use of it, we may ultimately be driven to preventive measures. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, in proportion as the burden of the dependent has increased and the standard of care risen, the search has spread from symptoms to causes, from causes to conditions of poverty, and culminated in a concerted demand for prevention rather than relief.

The influence of charity in diminishing the death-rate has probably had much to do with the increase in the proportion of insane and feeble-minded persons to the total population. The mere lengthening of the lives of lunatics by better care greatly increases their absolute and relative numbers. Badly administered charities, however, may have

[1] Cf. views of Felix Adler.

[2] On the powerful and pervasive influence of the altruism born of Christianity upon social and industrial development, see Kidd, "Social Evolution."

exactly the opposite result. An unclean hospital may result in the death of an undue number of the sick brought to it. In one maternity hospital the death-rate rose as high as two women for each five confinements. Previous to and during the sixties, European experience in maternity hospitals gave a mortality rate of about one death to twenty-nine confinements; in some large hospitals it was as high as one in seven. It is only recently that hospital service has become better than home service in this branch of medical practice. Undoubtedly the actual result of many foundling hospitals is to kill more infants than would meet death did such hospitals not exist — the death-rate is fearfully high; sometimes ninety-seven per cent of the children fail to reach the age of three years. Many who support charities designed to save infant life might conclude, if they studied all the facts, that they were contributing to its destruction.

The influence of charity upon the birth-rate is much more obscure. Long before natural selection was discussed under that name, Chalmers called attention to the fact that the relief of the poor from public funds resulted in taking money from the thrifty and giving it to the thriftless. Under the unreformed English poor-law the additional allowance per child was so large as to make it pecuniarily profitable to have large families. As the allowance for illegitimate children was somewhat larger than for those born in wedlock, a premium was put upon illegitimacy. The demonstration was then complete, that a population might be degraded by the charity-induced propagation of the unfit, and that the influence of charity upon the birth-rate is a factor to be reckoned with. A system of charity which might be admissible, could it be applied to an existing generation alone, is wholly inadmissible if it multiplies the number of dependents in succeeding generations. Both Mr. Dugdale and Mr. McCulloch found that the pauper

families they investigated got permission to live from the lavish giving of public outdoor relief, supplemented by indiscriminate giving on the part of individuals.

In the worst-managed almshouses there is sometimes not adequate means of separating the sexes, and the breeding of paupers goes on upon the premises. Formal marriages between almshouse paupers have very frequently received the sanction of both church and state. A much commoner abuse, as we shall find when we come to study these institutions, — one, in fact, from which few American almshouses are free, — is the facility with which the dissolute and diseased can go there until sufficiently recuperated to be able to have children and then discharge themselves. The doors of the hospitals and almshouses swing freely both ways, and the result is a succession of children, especially from half-witted women. These persons would have been able to have no children or few if left entirely without help, and would have been allowed to have none at all had they been properly taken care of. It is coming to be seen that the feeble-minded (a much larger class than many suppose) must have custodial care through life.

While the infant death-rate is known to be increased through institutions that receive without question all children brought to them, it is more of a question, or at least one that is more difficult to answer definitely, whether or not their influence tends to increase the number of illegitimate and abandoned infants. Lax morals and open foundling hospitals usually are found together ; but it is not so easy to demonstrate the causal influence of the institutions in producing laxness of morals, though that they have such an influence is usually believed. The extreme facility and secrecy with which a child could be disposed of to French foundling hospitals of the older type is alleged to have had this result. The author's own observation leads him to think that found-

ling hospitals of the kind usual in America, because of the high death-rate already mentioned, tend to exterminate rather than to multiply the progeny of unfit stock.

A distinct influence upon the quantity and quality of the population is had by those institutions that bring defectives together to be trained, and after training them for self-support, encourage them to marry and to intermarry. This is, of course, most noticeable with the deaf because of the nature of their defect. It does not by any means incapacitate them for self-support, while at the same time it makes the companionship of deaf with deaf especially congenial. The congregate system of education of the deaf has brought them together in a way calculated to promote extensive acquaintance, and sign language tends to make them a peculiar people. It thus comes about that the institutions for the education of the deaf become very definite factors in promoting the propagation of deaf-mutism through inheritance. The latest educational tendency, and one favored by Dr. Howe, is to abandon the sign language to a considerable extent, and to encourage as far as possible the education of the deaf in day schools. This tends to assimilate them with the ordinary population, and their defect is more likely to prove a bar to marriage than under the conditions of boarding-schools. In general it may be said that the managers of charitable institutions do not sufficiently discourage marriage among the dependent and defective classes. The duty of being childless is not one they try to impose upon dependents.

In 1893 Ritchie suggested as a possible beginning of the work of making the definition of a mésalliance scientific, that all persons receiving a marriage license should be required to present a medical certificate giving evidence of freedom from a hereditary tendency to insanity.[1] Since then several states have passed such laws. In 1899 Michigan forbade the marriage of insane and idiotic persons and

[1] Ritchie, "Pauperism," etc.

persons afflicted with syphilis and gonorrhœa and not cured. The law of Connecticut, passed in 1902, forbids the marriage of epileptics and imbeciles under a penalty of three years' imprisonment, with a penalty for other persons aiding such a marriage, and forbids illegitimate intercourse with a defective woman under equally heavy penalties. Indiana also forbids the issuance of a license not only to imbeciles and insane, but also to indigents of five years' standing.[1]

Members of the medical profession frequently recommend castration as a punishment for certain offences, and as a method of treatment for "sexual perverts." Dr. Kerlin, in addressing the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-minded, said: —

> "While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give us, I will refer to a conviction that I have, that life-long salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed. My experience extends to only a single case to confirm this conviction; but when I consider the great benefit that this young woman has received, the entire arrest of an epileptic tendency, as well as the removal of inordinate desires which made her an offence to the community; when I see the tranquil, well-ordered life she is leading, her usefulness and industry in the circle in which she moves, and know that surgery has been her salvation from vice and degradation, I am deeply thankful to the benevolent lady whose loyalty to science and comprehensive charity made this operation possible." "Whose state," he asks further on, "shall be the first to legalize oöphorectomy and orchitomia for the relief and cure of radical depravity?"[2]

Indiana appears to have been the first state to apply this remedy. In 1901 a law was passed providing that upon the recommendation of certain physicians the operation necessary to sterilization should be performed upon criminals adjudged to be unfit to procreate. Dr. H. C. Sharp of the Indiana Reformatory reports that besides six prisoners

[1] Ely, "Evolution of Industrial Society," p. 170 ff.; N. C. C., 1905, p. 594.

[2] Report, 1892, pp. 277–278; see also Barr, "Mental Defectives."

operated upon under the authority of the law, two hundred and seventeen others were so treated at their own request.[1]

The proposal of a law in Pennsylvania providing for the asexualization of imbeciles and idiots who are dependent inmates of a state institution, brought out a vigorous protest from Alexander Johnson, an authority on the care of the feeble-minded. Mr. Johnson urges the sanctity of the individual human being and argues that, if sterilized, the most powerful incentive to their proper care would be removed. Segregation, he thinks, the better way: —

"It has far wider possibilities than the way of surgery since it may be applied, as that could not or at present would not be, to the many cases on the border line between imbecility and normality, for it is not necessarily final in any case. And it is precisely the border-line cases, as every institution man knows, for whom, if for any, surgery might be desirable. Besides segregation will still be necessary, no matter how much the knife may be used. It is only by the chloroform method that we may escape the burden of the care of these men and women children, the idiots and the imbeciles. So that method would be the next logical step." [2]

Whenever, as in the cases cited, it appears that these operations can be performed with benefit to the individual, public opinion will doubtless sanction them; and the result of such experimentation may ultimately be to extend their use very widely in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. To argue for the introduction of such methods on grounds of social selfishness will not be the best way to hasten their introduction.

Pending such experimentation, the sterilizing of the essentially unfit who may be dependents seems likely to be carried forward by the humaner methods of sequestration and of custodial care through life. The permanent isolation of the essentially unfit has commended itself to men as

[1] N. C. C., 1905, p. 594; Proceedings American Prison Association, 1907; "Charities," vol. xviii., 1907, No. 26, p. 762.

[2] "Charities," vol. xiii., pp. 595–596.

different as Ruskin and General Booth, and already the movement to establish these philanthropic monasteries and nunneries for the feeble-minded is becoming the substitute for natural selection. The prevention of the marriage of the unfit, the sterilization of criminals, and the custodial care of the imbecile are initial steps in prevention — that the unfit may cease to be produced and to produce. As Cummings puts it: from him that hath not shall be taken away the power of degrading himself and society. Certain it is, that while charity may not cease to shield the children of misfortune, it must, to an ever increasing extent, reckon with the laws of heredity, and do what it can to check the spreading curse of race deterioration. The desire to prevent suffering must extend to the desire to prevent the suffering of unborn generations.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF POVERTY.

The combined result of the rise of humanitarianism, the science of political economy, and the evolutionary theory, was a new interest in the causes of dependence. Neither philosophers nor charity workers were satisfied to accept any longer the misused dictum, "The poor ye have always with you," as an excuse for merely palliative measures in dealing with them, nor with the current explanations of their misery. The students of the social sciences who have sought to ascertain the causes of poverty have employed three tolerably distinct methods. First, there are those deductive or philosophical thinkers who, from the well-known facts of social organization, have sought to deduce the causes tending to poverty, as a systematic writer on pathology seeks to set forth the inherent characteristics of the bodily organism which tend to make disease likely or inevitable. Secondly, there are those who make an inductive study of concrete masses of pauperism, usually separating the mass into its individual units, seeking to ascertain in a large number of particular cases what causes have operated to bring about destitution. This work resembles that of the practising physician, endeavoring to ascertain the causes of sickness by a careful diagnosis of the cases under his care. Thirdly, there are those who study the classes not yet pauperized, to determine by induction what forces are tending to crowd individuals downward across the pauper line, as the health officer of a city might undertake, by an examination of the drainage system or an analysis of the water or

food supply, to ascertain the causes of disease in a given locality.

Examples of the philosophical or deductive method are found in the writings of men like Malthus, or Karl Marx, or Henry George, who, while they describe actual conditions at great length, still make the philosophical reasoning which is the heart of their work antecedent to their facts. Their facts are given by way of illustration rather than of proof. Writers of this class are prone to think that they can find some single underlying cause of all the misery and destitution that exist. The three names just mentioned recall three explanations of poverty, each alleged to be universal, and the three mutually exclusive. Malthus was too wise a man to put forth his principle of population as an all-sufficient explanation of distress; but his followers have not been so wise. In the writings of certain economists it has been a fundamental thought that poverty exists mainly, if not entirely, because population tends to increase faster than food supply. All other causes are held to contribute to this, or to be derived from this. The pressure of population against the means of subsistence is held to guarantee that there shall always be a vast number of persons who can just manage to live miserably. A rise of wages will promote early marriages and rapid increase among laborers, until population is again checked by overcrowding and consequent misery and death. So wise a man as John Stuart Mill allowed his economic philosophy to be overshadowed by this idea.

Henry George ridiculed the Malthusian explanation of poverty, and offered an all-sufficient explanation of his own, which is, substantially, that poverty exists, on the one hand, because the landlord receives in rent so large a share of the annual product; on the other, because private property in land encourages the withholding of natural resources from use, the owners waiting to obtain an unearned increment.

Since the owner of land receives wealth without labor to an increasing extent with the development of society, there must be an increasing number of those who labor but receive little or nothing.

Opposed to both these explanations of the existence of poverty is that of the socialists, who follow for the most part Karl Marx's analysis of capitalistic production. Reduced to a sentence by Dr. Aveling, this explanation of poverty may be stated by saying that labor is "paid for, but not paid." The consumer pays enough for the product to remunerate the laborer, but the capitalist retains all except what will barely suffice to keep the laborer alive.

No one who has studied carefully modern industrial society can doubt that each one of these causes may produce a very considerable amount of destitution. But no one of them, nor all three of them together, can be taken as an adequate explanation of the existence of poverty. Professor Seligman states their fundamental defects in the following paragraph: —

> "Modern poverty is bound up with the facts of modern economic life, and modern economic life is a complex product. To select any characteristic feature of the present industrial system and to single it out as responsible for poverty is naïve, but worthless. The Malthusian seizes upon redundant population, the communist upon private property, the socialist upon property in means of production, the single taxer upon property in land, the coöperator upon competition, the anarchist upon government, the anti-optionist upon speculation, the currency reformer upon metallic money, and so on. They all forget that widespread poverty has existed in the absence of each one of these alleged causes. Density of population, private property, competition, government, speculation, and money have each been absent at various stages of history without exempting society from the curse of poverty. Each stage has had a poverty of its own. The causes of poverty are as complex as the causes of civilization and the growth of wealth itself." [1]

[1] Seligman, "Principles of Economics," p. 591.

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The explanations of poverty offered by theology are equally unsatisfactory. Ministers frequently inform us that all poverty comes primarily from vice and immorality, — "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." They quote David as saying, "I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." The temperance lecturer specializes upon the preacher's theory, and assures us that ninety-nine per cent of all poverty comes from the abuse of intoxicants. The propagandist of the White Cross League tells us that it is undoubtedly the abuse of the sexual nature that leads to most of the social degradation and consequent poverty of our times. These different students of social science, if such they may be called, all say that what men need to make them prosperous is moral reformation or spiritual regeneration.

To illustrate the complexity of the conditions of poverty more concretely: Suppose a second Robinson Crusoe on a desert island under exactly the same material conditions as the friend of our childhood; suppose he spent his time in distilling some kind of liquor, and subsequently getting drunk; suppose he allowed his mind to wander in dreamy and enervating revery upon debasing subjects; suppose that in consequence of these habits he neglected his work, did not plant his crops at the right time, and failed to catch fish when they were plentiful. Manifestly he would become poor and miserable, might become diseased from having insufficient food, and finally die in abject want. Poverty in such a suppositious case could not be traced to the fact that an employer had cheated the laborer of wages honestly earned, or to the fact that a landlord had robbed him by exacting rent, nor could it be traced to an excessive increase of population. Moreover, if Crusoe No. 2 had simply lacked judgment or skill, he might have become poor, although thoroughly pious and moral. If he had built a canoe that

would not float, or a cave that crumbled in and injured him, or constructed a summer-house that he did not need, or had not the ingenuity to devise tools for his varied purposes, he might have failed to secure the necessaries of life, and have died in miserable destitution.

Now, if all these various causes are conceivably operative in the case of an isolated person, it is manifest that in actual industrial society as now organized, where the individual suffers not only from his own mistakes and defects, but also from the mistakes and defects of a large number of other people, the causes of destitution must be indefinitely numerous and complicated; and the man who says that he has found one all-embracing cause discredits himself as promptly as the physician who should announce that he had found a single universal and all-sufficient explanation of bodily disease.

The second method, the inductive study of concrete masses of dependents, or case-counting, as it may be called, grew naturally out of contact with relief work. Although it has been in use for twenty years in this country, it must be acknowledged that it has not yielded as comprehensive results as were first expected of it, yet within its somewhat narrow scope those results are surprisingly uniform and definite. When allowances are made for differences of nationality and age constitution in the population, for locality as between city and country, and for variations between incipient and chronic dependence, certain immediate causes recur in case schedules in proportions which can be almost predicted by the trained student and charity worker.

Its limitations as a method suggest themselves, if we reflect on the analogy of the physician standing by the sick-bed, and trying to learn the cause of the disease merely from an examination of the patient. He may learn the immediate or exciting cause or causes of sickness, but back of these are the remoter causes which can only be learned by other methods of investigation. The competent physi-

cian will look for these in the hereditary constitution of the patient, or in bad conditions of public sanitation or personal hygiene, or in exposure to contagion, or in the revelations of bacteriology, or in unhealthy climate or occupation. But however thorough, he will scarcely be able to go farther afield than this to ascertain those ultimate economic and social conditions which may account for the patient's lack of physical resistance to disease. This will become clear if we glance at the following analysis of the causes of poverty. It is not intended to be complete, but only to give in general outline a map of the field.

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

Subjective.

- Characteristics.
  1. Undervitalization and indolence.
  2. Lubricity.
  3. Specific disease.
  4. Lack of judgment.
  5. Unhealthy appetite.
- Habits producing and produced by the above.
  1. Shiftlessness.
  2. Self-abuse and sexual excess.
  3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics.
  4. Unhealthy diet.
  5. Disregard of family ties.

Objective.

1. Inadequate natural resources.
2. Bad climatic conditions.
3. Defective sanitation, etc.
4. Evil associations and surroundings.
5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery.
6. Misdirected or inadequate education.
7. Bad industrial conditions.
   - *a.* Variations in value of money.
   - *b.* Changes in trade.
   - *c.* Excessive or ill-managed taxation.
   - *d.* Emergencies unprovided for.
   - *e.* Undue power of class over class.
   - *f.* Immobility of labor.
   - *g.* Inadequate wages and irregular employment.
8. Unwise philanthropy.

A statistical analysis of cases gives more light concerning the subjective causes of poverty than the objective causes, for in dealing with individuals their character is apt to be more studied than their environment. But even when environment is the primary cause of poverty, the immediate cause or coördinate result is often deterioration of character. As sickness is more obvious than bad sanitation, so is laziness than a malarial atmosphere, inefficiency than a defective educational system. One who attempts the analysis of cases is apt to be confused by the fact that under the operation of exactly similar general causes some families are destitute and some are not. One man is able to secure an adequate income under the most adverse circumstances — unhealthy climate, bad housing, unjust taxation, or lack of opportunities for education. Another man, under exactly the same conditions, will become destitute, and the observer must put down as the final and determining cause some defect in physique or character. Untrained charity workers who come immediately in contact with the poor are very prone to take short-sighted views of the causes of poverty. On the other hand, those who study the question from a philosophical standpoint are apt to lay too much stress on a single factor of environment; while a third class, chiefly composed of philanthropists living among the poor, arraign the organization of society as tending to submerge below the poverty line those who have no power to defend themselves. The extreme opposition of the different views is well illustrated by certain recent writers. Mrs. Bosanquet declares, "A man's circumstances depend upon what he himself is," and quotes Professor William James's phrase, "we are spinning our own fates," to support her contention that the economic position of a class depends upon the moral qualities of the individuals. Thomas W. Mackay regards it as an act of "unpardonable scepticism" to assume that whole classes

are inflicted with an inherent incapacity for the honorable interdependence of a life of contract and exchange, and points to the increasing reward of labor and the increasing purchasing power of its reward.

With an emphasis no less powerful, Robert Hunter places the responsibility for dependence upon environment: —

"It is obvious to inquiring persons that society, as a result of its industries, its tenements, its policy of almost unrestricted immigration, and its system of education, ill-adapted in so many ways to the needs of the people, causes a large part of the poverty which exists among us. For instance, the aged, after years of honest and exacting toil, may find themselves at last thrown out of work, propertyless, and sometimes penniless. Dangerous trades cripple the bodies and undermine the health of large numbers of workmen, and almost unrestricted immigration helps to increase an already too intense competition for wages in the underpaid, unskilled trades, with the result that the whole mass is more or less in poverty all the time, and a certain percentage finds it necessary actually to apply periodically for charitable relief. The greed for profits on the part of the owners of tenement-house property has so interfered with the enactment and enforcement of laws establishing certain minimum sanitary standards that a considerable number of working people have their labor power diminished or destroyed by tuberculosis and other diseases. It would be impossible to question the responsibility of society for such common and widespread causes of poverty. After the economic independence has been destroyed, so-called charity undermines the character of the poor either by private alms or by public outdoor relief."[1]

Each of these types of observers has, indeed, seized upon a portion of the truth; the questions of character are very far from insignificant, but so long as it is impossible to measure accurately all the forces within and without the individual which tend to push him above or below the line of economic independence, it will be necessary to study the combined operation of character, circumstance, and environment in accounting for his failure.

The third and latest method of studying the causes of

[1] Hunter, "Poverty," pp. 66–67.

poverty is also statistical, but on a much broader basis than the classification of dependents. Beginning with the comprehensive work of Charles Booth in London, it has been applied to the city of York, England, by Rowntree; more recently to the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania by Peter Roberts, and to a district of New York City by Mrs. Louise Boland More. Its essential feature is the comparative study of a whole section of population in order to ascertain the proportion of the poor and the conditions of their life which tend to drive them into a position of dependence. To this class of studies belongs the report of 1903 of the United States Bureau of Labor on the Cost of Living and many other labor reports, the investigations of occupational morbidity and mortality, and nearly all the first-hand descriptions of the industrial strata of society.

It is evident that such a method has a breadth and perspective which give it superior value; but it, too, has its pitfalls and limitations. If pursued on a scale large enough to give a true picture of a representative section of the population, it is liable to lack the intimate personal knowledge of individuals without which all statistics may become misleading. If pursued on a small scale, intensively, by workers familiar with the people themselves, it may be distorted by local peculiarities and by the bias of the investigator. Returning once more to the analogy of medical practice: in the first case, the physician is in the position of a health officer gathering information for the determination of birth and death rates and for the prevention of epidemic diseases; in the second, he is a specialist in danger of diagnosing all ailments as partaking of the characteristics of his specialty.

As the case-counting method tends to emphasize unduly the subjective and immediate causes, so the pictorial method is apt to bring out the industrial and environmental causes; but all these methods, beginning with the inductive, have had a natural historical sequence. The early social phi-

losophers sketched from afar some conspicuous feature of the field; the relief workers fixed their attention upon the miserable in need and their obvious characteristics; the latest comers are trying to present a complete picture of the whole territory. With the contribution of each observer, the details of the picture are becoming more accurate as well as complete; with the result that, on the one hand, the treatment of dependents is becoming more adequate and sympathetic, while, on the other, all philanthropists alike are uniting in a concerted attack upon those conditions of society which make dependence inevitable.

Turning from the discussion of the various methods of ascertaining the causes of poverty, we take up the consideration of the investigations conducted on the case-counting principle. The conclusions from these will vary widely according to the particular class of destitute persons under observation. Professor Henderson, after enumerating four general classes of dependents, — dependent children, those receiving partial relief in their homes, those receiving institutional relief, and the abnormal and defective classes, — remarks that a general average of the grand totals of the causes of poverty of these classes would not only be of no value, but would be positively misleading, as among these different classes a principal cause of poverty would vary widely, and in particular instances might not exist at all. The first precaution, therefore, in drawing conclusions from charity cases, as in every other kind of statistics, is to make sure that the classes compared are fairly comparable.

But when this difficulty is overcome, a greater one arises — the difficulty of deciding what is the principal cause of dependence in particular cases. A man is drunk and breaks his leg; is the cause of his helplessness accident or drink? When this question was submitted to a group of charity organization workers, it was promptly answered by two of them; but their answers were different. A man is out of

work because he is lazy and inefficient; one has to know him quite well before one can be sure that laziness is the cause. An experienced charity agent asked in conference how far back it was necessary to go to determine the principal cause in the following instances: —

"I have a widow and six children; her husband fell off a wagon when drunk and was killed; should I put down drunkenness as the cause? I have a case of a boy who received no proper training because his father was a drunkard; shall I put that poverty to drunkenness? I have a case of a family where four girls, one after the other, died of consumption, and I believe the cause to be that they had a drunken father who did not feed them, and who left them to live in improper conditions, but who died ten years ago. Shall I say that the cause in that case is drunkenness or sickness?"[1]

Among thousands of dependants it has been found that there are very few whose destitution resulted from a single cause. In order to represent the variety and relative proportions of the factors leading to pauperism, several ways of combining principal and subsidiary causes have been devised. Charles Booth, in his study of the pauperism of Stepney and St. Pancras, tabulated the contributory with the principal causes; and as indicating the results to be got from this method, his table is given on the opposite page.

In this table sickness, which operated as a principal cause in 26 per cent of all cases, was a contributory cause in 13 per cent more; drink, which accounted in the first place for the dependence of 12.6 per cent, aggravated the situation of 13 per cent more. In short, after a survey of the table, it can readily be believed that some, as Mr. Booth says, have been the foot-ball of all the causes in the list.

Professor Mayo-Smith tabulated 884 applicants of the New York Charity Organization Society for the year 1897 in a similar way, but with less striking results. At the suggestion of Professor Warner a quantitative method was

[1] See discussion, N. C. C., 1899, pp. 374–375.

TABLE I.

Principal Causes of Pauperism at Stepney.

(*Adapted from Booth's "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," p. 10.*)

PRINCIPAL OR OBVIOUS CAUSES.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per Cent.	CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.			
					Drink.	Pauper Asso. and Heredity.	Sickness.	Old Age.
1. Drink	53	27	80	12.6		23	11	11
2. Immorality	6	10	16	2.5	3	3	3	1
3. Laziness	10	2	12	1.9	6	5	1	3
4. Incapacity, Temper, etc.	17	7	24	3.8	4	5	2	6
5. Extravagance . . .	7	1	8	1.3	4	2		3
6. Lack of Work or Trade Misfortune . . .	26	2	28	4.4	4		5	13
7. Accident	25	5	30	4.7	4	2	1	14
8. Death of Husband .		26	26	4.1	3	2	10	8
9. Desertion		3	3	.5	3		1	1
10. Mental Derangement	3	8	11	1.7	1	2		2
11. Sickness	98	71	169	26.7	24	38	5	41
12. Old Age	113	95	208	32.8	22	18	44	
13. Pauper Asso. and Heredity	6	1	7	1.1	1		2	2
14. Other Causes . . .	9	3	12	1.9	6	6	2	2
Total Number	373	261	634	100	85	106	87	107
Per cent of Total Cases .					13.0	16.0	13.0	16.0

TABLE II.

Causes of Pauperism of 228 Almshouse Women by Nativity.*

		United States.		England.		Ireland.		Germany.	Other Countries.	Total.
		Units.	Per Cent.	Units.	Per Cent.	Units.	Per Cent.	Units.	Units.	Per Cent.
1. Intemperance	P.†	17	4.4	25	14.7	235	17.4	7	22	13.4
	C.	7	1.9	7	4.1	60	4.5	2	10	3.8
2. Immorality	P.	30	7.9	12	7.1	62	4.6	5	. .	4.8
	C.	8	2.1	. .	. .	5	.4	. .	. .	.6
3. Shiftlessness & Inefficiency	P.	6	1.3	10	5.9	107	7.9	. .	15	6.0
	C.	8	2.1	5	2.9	27	2.0	. .	5	1.9
4. Neglect by Relatives . .	P.	. .	. .	. .	. .	49	3.7	7	10	2.9
	C.	26	6.8	11	6.5	72	5.3	11	10	5.7
5. No Support	P.	25	6.6	12	7.1	50	3.7	3	30	5.3
	C.	10	2.6	. .	. .	34	2.5	. .	13	2.5
6. Sickness	P.	55	14.5	20	11.8	151	11.2	24	62	13.7
	C.	6	1.6	2	1.2	26	1.9	1	10	1.9
7. Mental Deficiency . .	P.	22	5.8	. .	. .	30	2.2	. .	25	3.4
	C.	13	3.4	5	2.9	13	.9	5	5	1.8
8. Insanity	P.	35	9.2	15	8.8	86	6.4	15	10	7.1
	C.	5	1.3	. .	. .	5	.4	. .	. .	.4
9. Temper	P.	. .	. .	8	4.7	30	2.2	. .	. .	1.7
	C.	7	1.8	3	1.8	21	1.6	2	. .	1.5
10. Old Age	P.	22	5.8	5	2.9	112	8.3	15	30	8.1
	C.	7	1.9	5	2.9	98	7.3	10	13	5.8
11. Other Causes	P.	69	18.2	10	5.9	67	4.9	. .	. .	6.4
	C.	3	.8	15	8.8	10	.7	3	. .	1.3
Total		380	100.0	170	100.0	1350	100.0	110	270	100.0
Number of Cases . .		38	. .	17	. .	135	. .	11	27	228.0

* Coolidge, M. R. (Smith). Am. Statist. Assoc. V. IV. 1895. † P. = Principal ; C. = Contributory.

adopted by Mrs. Coolidge in Table II.[1] The sum of the causes in each case was assumed to be 10. The principal cause might count for 5 or more units, while the contributory causes might be 5 or less; as, for instance, case 48, principal cause sickness 5, contributory causes neglect by relatives 3, old age 2.

Although this method undoubtedly presented the proportion of each influence with somewhat greater accuracy, it was found to be too complicated for general use in the Charity Organization Societies.

A third source of error in charity statistics is the variation between the cause of distress as given by the applicant and the causes afterward registered by the relieving agents. This discrepancy is illustrated by the following tabulation of 800 cases in New York City.

TABLE III.

ALLEGED AND TRUE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

800 cases, C. O. S., New York, 1896–1897.*

	Lack of Employment.	Sickness.	Intemperance.	Shiftlessness.	No Real Need.	Various Others.
Cause alleged by Applicant . .	313	222	25			240
Cause as determined later by Charity Agents	184	164	166	101	121	64

* Lindsay, N. C. C., 1899, p. 372.

The alleged cause is often merely a measure of the ability of the applicant to gauge the intelligence of the charity agent, but it is of some slight value in throwing light upon the character of the applicant.

[1] The same method was later adopted by A. F. Simons and C. F. Weller, *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, March, 1898.

After making all possible allowance for the personal equation of the applicant and the investigator, and for the limitations and inconclusiveness of figures alone, they have nevertheless a considerable value as representing the judgments of those who are studying dependence at first hand. When it has been found that a great number of investigators, at different times, in different places, have reached conclusions which, while varying in many and often inexplicable ways, are yet in agreement on certain points, it must be concluded that the figures to some extent reflect actual conditions. Without pressing these conclusions too far, and constantly remembering that statistics are only the formal skeleton of truth, we may proceed to discuss what results have been reached by the case-counting method in the study of dependence.

TABLE IV.*

CAUSES OF POVERTY IN BUFFALO.

	TOTAL. 1878–1887.	PER CENT.
Lack of Employment	1873	30.2
Sickness	1268	20.5
Accident	208	3.4
Insanity of Breadwinner	51	.8
Insufficient Earnings	451	7.3
No Male Support	397	6.4
Imprisonment of Bread-winner	108	1.7
Intemperance	700	11.3
Shiftlessness	440	7.1
Physical Defects	525	8.4
Cause Undetermined	176	2.9
Total Number of Cases	6197	100.0

*Condensed from Table III., p. 33, 1st ed., "American Charities."

Although the causes of pauperism had been enumerated and discussed in occasional reports of charitable societies,[1] the first systematic investigation and tabulation of results through a term of years appears to have been made by the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo, New York. The table (see p. 46) is interesting as showing that the more obvious causes, *i.e.* sickness, lack of employment, intemperance, and shiftlessness, stood in almost the same order and proportion in 1887 as they appear in the Charity Organization Society statistics of a later time.

The systematic registration of decisions in large numbers of cases brought out certain conclusions as to the general needs of applicants for relief. Table V. shows decisions averaged for a total of 42,031 cases between 1887 and 1900.

TABLE V.

DECISIONS IN CASES OF APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF.*

SHOULD HAVE	C. O. S. 1887.	BALTIMORE, BOSTON, NEW YORK, AVERAGE, 1891–1892.	NEW YORK C. O. S. 1897–1900.
	27,961 CASES.	8294 CASES.	5776 CASES.
	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
Continuous Relief (not Indoor)	10.3	4.0	1.2
Intermittent Relief (not Indoor)		2.9	.7
Temporary Relief (not Indoor)	26.6	20.6	28.2
Work rather than Relief . . .	40.4	35.1	32.3
Indoor Relief		11.6	8.9
Transportation		3.6	1.8
Visitation and Advice only . .		7.4	6.6
Discipline		5.8	4.4
No Relief	22.7	9.0	15.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Columns 1 and 2 from Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed., pp. 29–32. Column 3, N.Y. C. O. S. Reports, 1897–1900.

[1] Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 278–293, Tenth Report, New York State Board of Charities, 1877.

The table shows that approximately one-third of all applicants needed work rather than relief, and nearly another third needed intermittent or temporary relief only, while almost one-fifth needed either "discipline" or no relief at all. Charles D. Kellogg of the New York Charity Organization Society, when submitting a report on 27,961 cases in 1887 (column 1) to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, stated that the logical deduction from these facts was that two-thirds of the real or simulated destitution could be wiped out by a more perfect adjustment of the supply and demand for labor, and a more enlightened police administration. The table further indicates that charity organization societies were dealing largely then as now, not with chronic pauperism, but with those on the verge of dependence.

The question most commonly in the minds of the inexperienced students of this subject is whether dependence is a misfortune or a fault. In the first edition of this book Professor Warner compiled an elaborate table from English, German, and American sources, classifying the causes of poverty under two main heads as indicating misconduct or misfortune. A table condensed from the original, so as to show its essential features, is given on pp. 50, 51.

The unsatisfactoriness of the table arises in part from the fact that the groups of cases are not fairly comparable. The American cases were applicants for relief, the English were inmates of institutions for the chronic and aged poor, and the German comprised all cases of public relief. The trained charity worker would expect, therefore, that drink and matters of employment would rise high in American cases and fall among inmates of European institutions, and the expectation is to a certain extent fulfilled. The very low per cent for drink in Germany (1.3) is balanced partly by the high per cent for sickness (45.8), for Böhmert explains that intemperance was a predisposing cause in many cases

where the immediate cause set down was lack of work, accident, imprisonment, sickness, or abandonment. The wide variation in the totals for misconduct and misfortune — from 12 per cent to 42 per cent — indicates the extreme differences of judgment among charity agents as to the responsibility of the individual for his own dependence.

This is only another phase of the difficulty of deciding between principal and contributory causes. For instance, back of sickness may be either misconduct or misfortune; the imprisonment of the breadwinner indicates misconduct on his part, but may be only misfortune on the part of his wife and children who apply for relief; similar confusion arises in cases of children abandoned and old persons neglected by relatives. Professor Warner stated that the table was compiled only "in deference to popular inquiry," and declared his own opinion that its value consisted chiefly "in showing how little it was worth." It has, however, a certain historical importance as showing the decline of a tendency which was once very strong among charity workers to try to apportion carefully the degree of moral blame of the individual applicant for relief.

Although the results of the table are wholly negative as regards the determination of misconduct or misfortune, when stripped of unessential details and insignificant variations, it shows clearly that in a large body of applicants for relief in American cities, certain immediate causes of poverty tend to recur in very nearly the same order and proportion for a term of years. Among such dependents from 25 to 35 per cent will ask for relief because of physical and mental incapacity, 20 to 30 per cent because of lack of or unsatisfactory employment, and 20 to 25 per cent because of defects of character. The fact that certain specific causes, especially drink, vary widely in the different cities does not invalidate this deduction. Intemperance, of all the list of causes, is the one most likely to be affected by the personal

TABLE VI.*

CAUSES OF POVERTY. — *Misconduct vs. Misfortune.*

Locality	Baltimore	Boston	Buffalo
Report of	C. O. S.	A. C.	C. O. S.
Number of Cases	1385	2083	8235
Year	1890–2	1890–2	1878–92
CAUSES.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
Drink	8.0	20.5	7.8
Immorality	. . .	. . .	. . .
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	13.0	7.2	4.3
Crime and Dishonesty	.8	1.4	. . .
Roving Disposition	1.4	.8	. . .
Total Misconduct	23.2	29.9	12.1
Imprisonment of Breadwinner	.4	1.6	2.0
Orphans and Abandoned Children	.9	.7	. . .
Neglect by Relatives	1.7	.9	. . .
No Male Support	4.5	6.0	13.8
Total — No Normal Support	7.5	9.2	15.8
Lack of Employment	12.5	14.2	27.5
Insufficient Employment	8.5	5.5	1.7
Poorly Paid Employment	5.0	.9	6.0
Unhealthy and Dangerous Employment	.3	.4	. . .
Total — Employment	26.3	21.0	35.2
Ignorance of English	.4	.8	. . .
Accident	4.0	2.9	4.6
Sickness or Death in Family	20.2	24.0	24.6
Physical Defects	6.0	2.4	5.3
Insanity	.8	.6	.9
Old Age	6.0	4.1	. . .
Total — Personal Capacity	37.4	34.8	35.4
Total Misfortune	71.2	65.0	86.4
Unclassified or Unknown	5.6	5.1	1.5

* Condensed from Table IV., p. 36, 1st ed. of Warner's "American Charities."

TABLE VI. (*Continued*).

CAUSES OF POVERTY. — *Misconduct vs. Misfortune.*

Cincinnati	New York	Stepney	St. Pancras	76 German Cities	Total
A. C.	C. O. S.	Booth	Booth	Böhmert	
4844	1412	634	736	95,845	
1890–92	1891	1892	1892	1886	Average
PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
11.1	10.7	12.6	21.9	1.3	11.6
. . .	. . .	2.5	6.9	. . .	. . .
12.9	7.2	7.0	13.4	. . .	9.2
1.9	1.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
5.3	3.3	. . .	. . .	1.4	. . .
31.2	22.6	22.1	42.2	2.7	23.2
.7	.6	. . .	. . .	1.7	. . .
1.0	.1	. . .	. . .	5.6	. . .
.8	.5	. . .	. . .	.6	. . .
7.1	7.2	4.6	2.8	2.5	. . .
9.6	8.4	4.6	2.8	10.4	8.5
10.5	29.0	4.4	2.2	12.5	. . .
7.2	6.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4.2	2.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
22.4	37.6	4.4	2.2	12.5	20.8
.8	.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
2.3	3.3	4.7	2.6	1.1	. . .
15.0	18.5	26.7	20.7	45.8	24.4
2.5	2.7	. . .	. . .	2.4	. . .
.6	.7	1.7	4.3	3.4	. . .
3.0	3.3	32.8	23.4	15.8	. . .
24.2	28.9	64.9	51.0	68.5	43.1
56.2	74.9	74.0	56.0	91.4	71.0
12.6	2.5	4.0	1.8	5.9	. . .

bias of the relief agent, and about which there is a wide difference of opinion as to whether it is a true cause — in the sense of moral responsibility — or merely a symptom. It exhibits more than any other cause the limitations of the case-counting method.

The fact that sickness, unemployment, and moral defect tend to recur in a definite order and proportion is more clearly shown in Table VII., in which 31,637 cases are arranged and averaged in the same way as in Table VI. and compared with Professor Warner's averages from 7225 cases of the same class.

We notice first that all causes definitely reflecting the character of the individual vary only between 23.3 and 25.1. The most important of these, drink, averages 14.6, going as low as 7.2 in Baltimore and as high as 21.7 in Boston. Nearly, but not quite so important, is shiftlessness and inefficiency; it ranges between the relatively narrow limits of 6.1 and 9.5. The lack of normal support has, too, a tolerably constant influence of 6.3 to 8.3.

The causes grouped under the heading "matters of employment" account for a third of the destitution dealt with by American societies. The percentage for Boston is lowest and for New York highest, but the results for New York show the effect of the five years, 1893–1898, following the panic, which are only partially covered by the figures for Boston and Baltimore.

Under incapacity, insanity and physical defect exert a minor but quite constant influence. The small though constant percentage attributable to old age is probably due to the fact that these societies are for the most part dealing with people who are still struggling against pauperism, or are at any rate still mixed with the ordinary population of the cities where they live.

So far as Table VI. and Table VII. show, the most constant causes of poverty, everywhere, at all times, and according

TABLE VII. — Causes of Poverty : Charity Organization Society Records.

City.	New York.	Boston.	Baltimore.	Average New York, Boston, Baltimore.	Average of Baltimore, New York, New Haven, Boston.	Averages of Groups.
Year.	1889–1898.	1889–1893.	1888–1895.	1899 ff. Lindsay.*	1891–1892. Warner.†	
Drink	12.3	21.7	7.2	13.7	15.3	
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	6.1	6.8	9.5	7.5	7.5	
Other Moral Defects	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.3	
Total — Character				23.3	25.1	24.2
No Male Support	5.2	5.2	4.7	5.0	4.3	
Lack of Other Normal Support	1.2	3.6	3.0	3.6	2.0	
Total — Support				8.6	6.3	7.4
Lack of Employment	33.6	15.1	22.0	23.5	23.2	
Insufficient Employment	10.4	4.7	9.3	8.1	6.5	
Poorly Paid, etc.	2.9	1.0	6.2	3.3	1.9	
Total — Employment				34.9	31.6	33.2
Sickness and Death in Family	17.6	26.0	19.8	21.1	22.3	
Insanity and Physical Defects	2.9	3.5	6.0	4.1	4.5	
Old Age	3.3	3.8	4.6	3.9	4.0	
Other Incapacity	2.6	3.4	3.7	3.2	3.3	
Total Incapacity				32.3	36.1	34.2
Unclassified or Unknown	1.5	5.4	4.4	3.7	2.9	
Number of Cases	18,100	7142	6395		7225	38,862

* Condensed and rearranged from table collated by Professor S. M. Lindsay in N. C. C., 1899, p. 371, which is reprinted in Henderson, D. D. D., pp. 358–359.

† Taken from Table VIII., Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed.

to all investigators, are sickness and unemployment. The percentage of sickness falls to 17.6 in New York and reaches 26.0 in Boston — the average is 22. This is one of the most significant results from these tables. It was not anticipated by the author when the collection of the statistics began; but it has been confirmed and reconfirmed, not only by Professor Lindsay's later table, but in so many other ways, that the conclusion seems inevitable that the figures must approximately set forth the facts. Personal acquaintance with the destitute classes has deepened the conviction that most of the causes of poverty result from or result in weakened physical and mental constitution, often merging into actual disease.

TABLE VIII.

13,252 DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN GERMAN CITIES.

(Böhmert, pp. 115–116 and 127–128.)

CAUSE OF POVERTY.	PER CENT.
Orphanage	38.75
Fault of Guardian	25.89
Abandonment by guardian	
Imprisonment of	
Abuse and neglect by	
Laziness of	
Drunkenness of	
Incapacity of Guardian	17.12
Lack of work	
Large family	
Advanced age	
Defect, mental or physical	
Other Causes	18.24
	100.00

Nearly all of the causes named might furthermore be grouped under the general heading "incapacity." Those indicating misconduct can be so classed if we are willing to

include under the term infirmities of character as well as of body. The causes which indicate lack of normal support may also be said to show that the dependents are personally incapable of self-support, and that, through fault or misfortune on the part of their natural guardians, they have been left to themselves. The close relation between defects of character and the failure of support is illustrated by Böhmert's analysis of the causes of dependence in children.

The four causes grouped as "matters of employment" in Table VII. would seem at first to be of a different nature, and to indicate that capable persons may suffer from enforced idleness to the extent of becoming paupers. There are, of course, such instances; but those who have undertaken the work of finding employment for the unemployed, and who are intimately acquainted with the people about whom information is given in these tables, know that most of those out of employment are not capable in any complete sense of the term. They may be able-bodied, but they are not able-minded. They may lack one thing or another, but they almost always lack something; it may be skill, or strength, or judgment, or reliability, or even-temper. Often the incapacity seems to consist in nothing more than a lack of ingenuity, which prevents the person from fitting himself into the industries of the time. Give him a set task requiring little skill, and he will do it gladly. But such set tasks are very few in modern industry, and the result is that the individual is unemployed. If one wanted thoroughly efficient help, male or female, he would hardly expect to find it among the "out-of-works" with whom the charitable societies deal. Back of the cause "lack of work," ordinarily and in ordinary times, will be found some perversion of character, or some limitation of capacity.

The figures most nearly comparable with those of Böhmert and Booth are those of the New York almshouses in 1874–1875 and 1903–1904. In the earlier study the immediate

causes of poverty are given; in that of 1903–1904, merely the classes of almshouse inmates, from which they may be, to some extent, inferred.

TABLE IX.

PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES IN NEW YORK IN 1874–1875 AND 1903–1904.

CLASSES OF INMATES.	1874–1875.*		1903–1904.†		% BY GROUPS.
	NUMBER.	%	NUMBER.	%	
Children — Orphans or Abandoned	2030	16.1	578	2.5	
Homeless Women	278	2.2			
Total — No Support . . .		18.3			2.5
Insane	4047	32.1	304	1.3	
Feeble-minded	978	7.7	2232	9.7	
Epileptic	268	2.1	304	1.3	
Blind	303	2.4	617	2.7	
Deaf Mute	29	.2	114	.4	
Paralytic	322	2.5	1208	5.2	
Crippled, Maimed, and Deformed	257	2.0	3482	15.2	
Old and Infirm	2081	16.5	4920	21.4	
Bedridden or Diseased . . .	1258	9.9	356	1.5	
Rheumatic			1879	8.2	
Total — Defect and Disease .		75.4			66.9
Vagrant and Idle	767	6.1			
Able-bodied			4000‡	17.4	
Other and Unknown		.2	2872	13.2	
Total in Almshouses . . .	12,614	100.0	22,866§	100.0	

* From Report N.Y. State Board of Charities, 1877.
† From U. S. Census, 1904, "Paupers in Almshouses."
‡ Estimated on basis of percentage for whole North Atlantic Division.
§ Comprises 10,793 enumerated in almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903, plus 12,073 admitted in 1904.

Although these figures are not in all respects comparable, they show that the lack of normal support formerly accounted for 18 per cent of the inmates; but since the removal of

children to other institutions, the percentage has fallen to 2.5. In 1874–1875 75.4 per cent of the inmates were defective or diseased — one-third of them being insane; with the removal of the insane from almshouses to hospitals, the percentage of the incapacitated has fallen to 66.9. The table indicates further how widely the causes of dependence among inmates of institutions vary from those who are only applicants for relief.

Of 51,460 paupers admitted to almshouses in the United States in 1904, 67 per cent were "incapacitated." In such institutions "drink," as a direct cause of poverty, is of slight importance, although it may have been the original cause of much of the incapacity. Of those enumerated in almshouses in 1903 only 15.8 per cent were able-bodied, and of those admitted during 1904, 30 per cent; but a very large proportion of these were unquestionably shiftless, inefficient, and vagrant, unemployable rather than the unemployed.

As the first question popularly asked regarding the causes of poverty would probably be whether poverty indicates misconduct or misfortune, so the second would probably be: What are the indications as to the tendency of different nationalities or races to become poor? For the purpose of finding what answer could be obtained to this question, Table X. was prepared, giving the facts regarding 7225 American cases. Of the Americans, Germans, Colored, Irish, and English there were enough cases in each column to make the percentages tolerably trustworthy; while of the French, Polish, Spanish, Italian, Scandinavian, and other nationalities the numbers were too small to make the relative figures of much value.

As to "drink," we find a general average of 15.28 per cent. The Americans are slightly below, and the English slightly above, this average. The Irish have a larger percentage under this head than any other nationality, 23.62.

TABLE X.*

CAUSES OF POVERTY: 7225 AMERICAN CASES, CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES OF POVERTY AND NATIONALITY.

	AMERICAN, 2698 CASES.	GERMAN, 842 CASES.	COLORED, 545 CASES.	IRISH, 1833 CASES.	ENGLISH, 532 CASES.	OTHER NATIONALITIES, 546 CASES.	TOTAL AVERAGE, 7225 CASES.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Drink	15.14	7.83	6.23	23.62	16.93	8.27	15.28
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	9.19	7.48	5.68	5.78	7.12	7.58	7.51
Other Moral Defects	3.00	1.53	1.82	1.03	3.94	1.95	.77
No Male Support	4.11	4.27	2.93	5.07	3.16	5.48	4.30
Other Lack of Normal Support	.63	.57	1.00	.65	1.05	2.14	.67
Lack of Employment	24.57	28.62	17.42	18.87	24.68	26.78	23.16
Insufficient Employment	6.63	7.60	8.62	6.38	4.74	6.42	6.51
Poorly Paid, etc.	2.09	2.84	1.09	.86	1.42	5.48	1.89
Accident	2.66	3.56	1.46	3.10	2.69	3.48	2.86
Sickness or Death in Family	20.31	22.92	39.63	19.80	22.94	21.24	22.27
Physical Defects	3.40	4.73	5.49	3.49	1.74	4.62	3.69
Insanity	.92	.71		.91	1.26	1.12	.85
Old Age	2.81	2.73	4.57	6.97	3.63	2.37	4.00
Unclassified or Unknown	3.16	5.20	2.92	2.06	2.52	7.16	6.16

* Condensed from Table VIII., Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed.

The Germans are far below it, 7.83 per cent, and the Colored still farther, 6.23 per cent. This low percentage has been corroborated by the investigations of John Koren, whose conclusions are: that comparatively few negroes are habitual drunkards; that intemperance is only accountable for a small part of the negro's poverty; and that only in exceptional cases are drinking habits a barrier to steady employment.[1]

In "shiftlessness and inefficiency" the Americans lead all other well-represented nationalities, having here a percentage of 9.19, as against an average of 7.51. The Irish here fall much below the average, 5.78 per cent.

"Matters of employment" vary less in relative importance as between the different nationalities, and the same is true of "accident" and "physical defects." Under the very important heading of "sickness" we find one decided variation. The average for this cause is 22.27 per cent, and all the largely represented nationalities conform quite closely to this average with one exception: the cases of colored people show a percentage for sickness of 39.63, a rate that comes near to being the double of the average, and is the double of the percentage for this cause among the Irish.

Those who know the colored people only casually or by hearsay may be surprised to find the misconduct causes running so low among them, while sickness as a cause is of greater relative importance than in any other nationality. But to one who has worked in Baltimore or Washington it seems a natural result, and indeed a confirmation of the reliability of the statistics. The colored people are weak physically, become sick easily, and often die almost without visible resistance to disease. At the same time they have a dread of being assisted, especially when they think an institution will be recommended; and this, together with a certain apathy, will often induce them to endure great

[1] Koren (Committee of Fifty), "Economic Aspects," etc., p. 176.

privations rather than ask for help. Besides this, there are many associations among them for mutual help, and the criminal and semi-criminal men have a brutal way of making their women support them. That the percentage for "lack of work," 17.42, is the lowest, and that for "insufficient employment" is the highest, under these two heads, perhaps reflects their hand-to-mouth way of working at odd jobs rather than taking steady work.

In order to find out whether the differences we have noted between the nationalities are constant for different places and according to different observers, the same figures were arranged by causes and cities for each nationality. On the whole, there were no variations that need destroy our confidence in the general average.

A classification in Table XI. of 4176 Boston and New York cases according to the number of persons in a family, and by nationality, confirms the indication of Table IV., that large families is a relatively unimportant cause of destitution.

Unmarried persons with no one dependent upon them are not included in this table. The largest single family is found among the colored people; but the largest proportion of relatively large families, those numbering from five to nine persons each, is found among the Italians and the Poles and Russians. The families of paupers or semi-paupers usually average smaller than those of the population as a whole, partly because the number among classes degenerate enough to be dependent is not as large as is ordinarily supposed, partly because of a high infant mortality, and partly because the families of these classes tend to disintegrate rapidly, children drifting away from parents, and aged parents in their turn being shaken off by adult children.[1] The "family," therefore, which applies for relief

[1] In a study of Almshouse Women in San Francisco, it was found that out of a hundred and eighty-four living children, forty were "some-

TABLE XI.

4176 Boston and New York Cases, classified according to Number in the Family and Nationality.

1890–1892.

Number in Family.	American, 1863 Cases.	Colored, 192 Cases.	English, 496 Cases.	French, 77 Cases.	German, 373 Cases.	Italian, 109 Cases.	Irish, 1287 Cases.	Polish and Russian, 128 Cases.	Scandinavian, 22 Cases.	Other Countries, 129 Cases.	Total, 4176 Cases.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	14.81	16.14	17.54	10.38	12.06	7.33	15.77	4.68	18.18	12.40	14.60
2	20.90	27.08	19.15	22.07	17.42	11.00	19.19	8.59	13.63	14.72	19.30
3	17.61	22.91	17.54	23.36	17.69	13.76	18.10	19.53	27.26	21.70	18.24
4	17.82	13.54	18.75	18.18	15.28	18.34	15.46	12.50	22.72	17.82	16.66
5	11.59	7.81	12.90	13.00	17.42	19.26	12.82	17.96	13.63	13.95	12.97
6	7.90	7.81	6.06	2.59	8.31	10.09	8.00	9.37	. . .	10.07	7.78
7	5.64	3.12	3.83	7.78	5.36	15.59	5.67	10.93	4.54	6.20	5.77
8	2.34	.52	2.45	1.29	2.41	2.75	3.03	10.15	. . .	2.32	2.72
9	.80	.52	.60	1.29	1.87	1.83	1.39	3.12	. . .	.77	1.14
10	.46	. . .	.60	. . .	.80	. . .	.46	2.34	. . .	. . .	.47
11	.08	. . .	. . .	. . .	.80	. . .	.07	.78	. . .	. . .	.14
12	. . .	. . .	.60	. . .	.53	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.11
13	. . .	.02	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.02

is often only the fragment of a family. That large families are not a principal cause of dependence is still further illustrated by the experience of the Associated Charities of Boston: [1]

MARRIED COUPLES: BOTH MAN AND WOMAN BETWEEN 20 AND 40 YEARS OF AGE.

	Number.	Per Cent.	
Without Children	39	12.7	70.9
With One Child	56	18.3	
With Two Children	65	21.3	
With Three Children	57	18.6	
With Four Children	50	16.3	28.7
With Five Children	20	6.5	
With Six or More Children	18	5.9	

The society reported that in at least two out of three of these families distress was due to preventable causes, of which moral delinquency was the chief.

Table XII. gives a classification of applicants for relief by marital condition and nationality.

Of those applying to the charity organization societies more than half are married people living together, about one-half the remainder, or one-quarter of the whole, are widows, and nearly one-tenth are deserted wives. In recent years much attention has been given to family desertion, and it is believed that it is increasing. Several studies of such families have been made, notably one in 1905 by Lilian Brandt, in which the typical male deserter is described as "young, able-bodied, more or less dissipated, capable of earning good wages, but rarely in the mood for making the exertion, and above all, he is lacking in the quality which

where"; that is, they had been separated from the mother in one way or another and she no longer knew where they were. — American Statistical Association, vol. iv., 1895, p. 237.

[1] Twenty-third Annual Report, 1902, p. 62.

makes an obligation to others outweigh considerations of personal comfort or preference." As to the consequence of desertion in these 574 families, "259 received relief amounting to nearly $9000 and this was a mere fraction of the total; 90 of the families were broken up temporarily or permanently; 132 children were introduced to institution life or boarded out. Other children were deprived of a fair start in life." [1]

TABLE XII.

Cases by Marital Condition and Cities.

Charity Organization Society Reports.

	New York,* Boston, Baltimore, New Haven, 1890–1892. 8028 Cases.	New York, 1896–1900. 8638 Cases.	Boston, 1899–1905. 5529 Cases.
Married	47.7	64.71	53.5
Widows	23.7	23.21	24.7
Deserted Wives	6.9	5.89	9.4
Single Women	5.6	2.39	6.6
Deserted Husbands and Widowers	4.8	2.30	2.9
Single Men	10.6	1.02	2.9
Orphans	.3	.31	.2
Divorced	.4	.13	.7
Miscellaneous	.2		
Total	100.0	100.00	100.0

* Arranged from Table XII., Warner's 1st ed.

The small percentage of single men in later years, as shown in Table XII., is due to the differentiation of charities, this class being treated by other agencies than the charity organization societies.

[1] "Five Hundred and Seventy-four Deserters and Their Families," pp. 61–62.

A matter which is not brought out by the tables thus far given, but which is well shown by the collateral investigations of the different agencies, is the large number of children either dragged into pauperism by the destitution of their parents or entirely abandoned by them. In the investigation of almshouse pauperism, of course, this is not brought out, as the children have been put in other institutions, and are beyond the view of the investigator. But where the cases are studied as they cross the pauper line, the large number of children is striking. Of 8638 persons dealt with by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1896–1900, 48 per cent were under fourteen; and in Boston from 1899–1905, of 5529 cases coming under the care of the Associated Charities, 46 per cent were under fourteen. On the whole, it may be concluded that, while the leading cause of confirmed pauperism, as investigated by Mr. Booth in England, is the weakness of old age, the leading cause of incipient pauperism, as investigated by the American Charity Organization Societies, is the weakness of childhood.

Taking this in connection with the large percentage of pauperism which is constantly and everywhere attributed to sickness and physical defect, we have a striking confirmation of the conclusion reached by Dugdale in his study of the Jukes. He says: —

"1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury, or, for women, childbirth.

"2. Hereditary pauperism rests chiefly upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration."

We find, phrasing our conclusions in medical terms, that the commonest exciting cause of the poverty that approaches pauperism is incapacity, resulting in most chronic cases from sickness or other degenerate and degenerating conditions. Weakness of some sort is the most typical characteristic of the destitute classes. The predisposing causes of this

degeneration and weakness are next to be sought for. A physician turns from diagnosing a case to inquire for predisposing causes, first in the habits and heredity of the individual, and secondly in the nature of his occupation, or other conditions of life. In Chapter III. we will consider some of the predisposing causes of degeneration which pertain to the individual; and in the succeeding chapter some of those which pertain to environment.

CHAPTER III.

SYMPTOMATIC CAUSES OF DEGENERATION.

In the preceding chapter we have dealt with the principal causes of poverty and their relative proportions as ascertained by the case-counting method. In order to gather up the results of this method still more completely we shall now consider personal habits and characteristics, and the influence of stock and family through heredity; that is, the characteristics and habits of the individual himself which render him incapable or likely to become so; first, as to their nature, and, finally, as to their origin. For it is to bad habits that the ordinary observer attributes a large part of the misery of the world; and as immediate causes of degeneration, they undoubtedly have great influence. Intemperance, that is, the abuse of alcoholic drinks, has long been held to be a principal cause — by many the cause — of crime, pauperism, and poverty. The earlier American observers attributed from 50 to 75 per cent of misery to it, but these were estimates merely, not based on statistics.[1] During the last decade of the nineteenth century a number of careful statistical inquiries were made which reduced the factor of drink to surprisingly low percentages. In Table VI. (pp. 50, 51) the figures range from 20.5 per cent to 8 per cent — an average for five cities of 11.8 per cent; in Professor Lindsay's table (p. 53) the average for New York, Boston, and Baltimore is 13.7 per cent. The figures of foreign tables go as low or lower.

[1] De Gerando, "Bienfaisance Publique," 1839, vol. i., p. 318; Brace, "Dangerous Classes of New York," 1872, pp. 65–66; Boies, "Prisoners and Paupers," 1893, p. 137. See Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 285, 292, for other historical references.

Böhmert's tables of 77 cities of Germany (1888) give drink as chief cause in only 1.3 per cent of 90,000 cases. Charles Booth concluded that 14 per cent of primary poverty, 13 per cent of secondary poverty, and 15 per cent of pauperism in workhouses was due to intemperance. Rowntree omits drink altogether as an immediate cause of primary poverty, but says that it is a predominant one of secondary poverty. Without attempting for the present to account for the apparent decline of the percentages of drink as a cause of poverty, we may turn to a very thorough study of intemperance as related to crime, pauperism, and poverty made in 1896–1898 for the Committee of Fifty by John Koren.[1] The statistics for the section on the liquor problem in its relation to poverty were secured by 33 Charity Organization Societies representing the same number of cities in 18 states and the District of Columbia.

The general conclusion of these figures was that of the 29,923 cases, 18.46 per cent owed their poverty to the personal use of liquor, 2.07 per cent to the intemperate habits of one or both parents, .45 per cent to the intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians, and 7.39 per cent to the intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians. The general average percentage of poverty due directly or indirectly to drink was 25.06. Table XIII., rearranged from Koren, shows the direct and indirect effect of the use of liquor by race.

In respect to race, Table XIII. shows conclusively that drink, both as a direct and indirect cause of poverty, is more prevalent among the white than among the colored, almost in the proportion of two to one. The figures for the seven

[1] Koren, "Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem," 1899. The Committee of Fifty is an organization of distinguished private persons, of varied religious and social views, who have supplied the money, engaged expert service, and published the results of a comprehensive research into the liquor question. See Bibliography for the four publications already issued.

TABLE XIII.* — Applicants for Relief as affected Directly and Indirectly by Use of Liquor, by Color (C.O.S. Records).

Intemperance.	White. No.	Colored. No.	White. %	Colored. %	Aggregate. No.	%
I. As a Direct Cause:						
Condition due to personal use of liquor	5,265	259	19.4	9.1	5,524	18.5
Condition not due to personal use of liquor	20,124	2,450	74.3	86.6	22,574	75.4
Not reported	1,704	121	6.3	4.3	1,825	6.1
Total Number of Cases	27,093	2,830			29,923	
II. As an Indirect Cause:						
Condition due to intemperate habits of others	2,658	144	9.8	5.1	2,802	9.4
Condition not due to intemperate habits of others	14,876	1,905	54.9	67.3	16,781	56.1
Not reported	9,559	781	35.3	27.6	10,340	34.5
Total Number of Cases	27,093	2,830			29,923	
Seven Cities † as a Direct Cause:						
Washington, D.C.	483	1,052	22.2	11.2		
Baltimore	841	238	13.4	2.5		
Wilmington	330	166	23.6	10.2		
New Haven	3,352	164	15.0	2.4		
Indianapolis	703	144	23.2	11.0		
Louisville	539	105	25.4	8.6		
Cincinnati	2,156	336	15.2	4.5		
Average Per Cent			19.7	7.1		

* Koren, "Economic Aspects, etc.," pp. 65–66.

† Cities showing largest number of colored applicants.

cities containing the largest number of colored applicants are even more favorable to the negro race; and the average (7.1) corresponds quite closely to that of Professor Warner (6.23) already noted.

It is generally accepted that intemperance is preëminently a masculine vice; and among these applicants for relief, only 12.5 per cent of women as against 22.7 per cent of men have become dependent through drink. It is, however, when we note the percentages of drink as an indirect cause that the misery of women on account of it becomes apparent. Of the female applicants, 17 per cent as compared with 3.8 per cent of the male applicants owed their condition to the intemperate habits of others.[1]

Table XIV. exhibits the intemperate habits of applicants for relief by nativity. The comparison of nationalities is somewhat unsatisfactory, owing to the small numbers represented. For instance, Poland, Italy, Russia, and Austria, which show the smallest percentages of poverty due to liquor, show also small total numbers. If, however, we take the other countries which are represented largely, we see that Ireland leads with 29 per cent and is followed by Canada and Scotland with 21 per cent and England with 18 per cent. The native-born, of whom a majority are of foreign parentage, divide the table in the middle with a percentage of 17, followed by Sweden 16 per cent and Germany 14 per cent. It is noticeable that the order of countries is only slightly altered in column 4 which represents the poverty indirectly due to intemperance.

In order to ascertain the relation of intemperance to pauperism Mr. Koren obtained statistics of 8420 inmates of fifty institutions (mostly almshouses) in ten states. As regards race, sex, and nationality, the results correspond very closely to those of the investigation of applicants for relief. The total number of negro paupers was only 285, and less

[1] Koren, "Economic Aspects," etc., pp. 65–66.

TABLE XIV. — APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AND INTEMPERANCE BY NATIVITY (C. O. S. RECORDS), REARRANGED FROM KOREN, pp. 76–80.

NATIVITY (in order of percentage in column 3).	NUMBER.	PER CENT.	CONDITION DUE TO PERSONAL USE OF LIQUOR.	CONDITION DUE TO INTEMPERANCE OF APPLICANTS AND OTHERS.	CONDITION NOT DUE TO INTEMPERANCE.	CAUSE NOT REPORTED.
			%	%	%	%
FOREIGN BORN	11,510	41.2	13.7	19.4	74.4	6.2
Ireland	4,625	15.5	29.9	37.8	56.6	5.5
Scotland	315	1.0	21.6	26.9	66.7	6.4
Canada (French, Irish, Scotch)	628	2.1	21.0	30.7	64.2	5.1
England	1,392	5.0	18.8	25.1	68.7	6.3
NATIVE BORN	17,048	57.0	17.1	23.9	70.7	5.4
FOREIGN BORN (*Continued*)						
Sweden and Norway	585	1.9	16.6	21.0	75.0	3.9
Germany	2,971	9.9	14.5	20.2	75.4	4.4
Austria	206	.7	7.7	11.2	81.6	7.3
Russia (chiefly Hebrews)	208	.7	4.3	6.7	88.5	4.8
Italy	234	.8	1.3	3.4	87.2	9.4
Poland	346	1.1	1.2	15.3	78.3	6.4
All other countries	821	2.7	13.8	17.2	76.2	6.6
UNKNOWN	544	1.8	10.5	16.2	46.1	37.7
Total Number	29,923		5,524	7,499	20,621	1,804
Total Per Cent		100.0	18.5	25.0	68.9	6.0

than half as many colored as white paupers owed their condition to personal use of liquor and to the intemperate habits of others. The same nationalities appear in practically the same order as in Table XIV., but the percentages for pauperism due to personal use and intemperance of others are uniformly much higher. The general average percentage of pauperism due directly or indirectly to drink is 37 per cent, with 5.23 per cent of the total number of cases unaccounted for.

In 1895 the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics undertook an investigation of the connection between pauperism and drink in the state pauper institutions, the results of which are corroborated on a larger scale by the Committee of Fifty, as shown below: —

PAUPERISM AND INTEMPERANCE.

	Mass. Bureau of Labor, 1895. 3230 Cases.	Koren "Economic Aspects," 1895. 8420 Cases.
Pauperism caused by:		
(1) Personal use of liquor	39.44	32.84
(2) Intemperate habits of parents . .	4.82	3.60
(3) Intemperate habits of guardians .	1.45	.27
(4) Intemperate habits of others . .	3.06	5.31

The only comparable foreign statistics which are available are those of workhouse pauperism in England.[1] Charles Booth found 12.6 per cent of 634 inmates at Stepney, London, to have been pauperized by drink and 21.9 per cent of 736 inmates of St. Pancras. These percentages seem very small when compared with American experience, but Mr. Booth himself said that it was probable that research into

[1] Mr. Koren discusses German statistics of pauperism on pp. 124–125, and shows that comparison is impossible.

the history of these people might disclose a greater connection between pauperism and the public house.[1]

Table XV. shows the effect of intemperance in producing destitution and neglect of children. The data of 5136 cases were obtained from three groups of institutions: (1) societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or humane societies which deal with children of the most depraved; (2) state organizations of the National Children's Home Society, under whose treatment come a large number of illegitimate infants; (3) two state public schools which are, in fact, asylums for orphaned and dependent children.

Although the number of colored children represented in Table XV. is too small to be significant of itself, yet the smaller percentage of destitution due to drink is in harmony with statistics previously quoted. Comparing native-born with foreign-born children, there is a difference of 6 per cent in favor of the former; comparing children of native parentage with those of foreign parentage, the difference rises to 13 per cent. As in the case of women, the mere arithmetical fact that nearly one-half the destitution of 5000 children was due to the drinking habits of those having charge of them does not adequately represent the concomitant misery. Irrespective of transmitted tendencies to degeneration, the children of drunken parents fare badly because of neglect and privation. Whether the mother herself drinks, or is merely linked to a drunken husband, her life during the period of gestation is almost inevitably such as endangers the well-being of the child. The fact that when a large part of the family income goes for liquor, other branches of expenditure must be curtailed, is so obvious that it only needs to be mentioned. Moreover, the irrational and often brutal treatment received by children of the intemperate makes right development almost impossible for them. One fact brought out by the statistics of the Reg-

[1] Booth, "Pauperism," etc., p. 11.

TABLE XV.

Intemperance and Destitution of Children (1896–1898).

Arranged from Koren's Tables, Chap. IV.

Classes.	Condition Due to Intemperance of One or Both Parents.	Condition Due to Intemperate Habits of Parents or Guardians or Others.	Condition not Due to Intemperance.	Cause not Reported.	Number of Each Class.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	
By Color:					
White	45.03	45.97	46.38	7.65	5034
Colored	39.22	39.22	51.96	8.82	102
By Nativity:					
Native born	42.57	43.59	48.21	8.20	4536
Foreign born	48.67	49.56	45.13	5.31	113
By Parent Nativity:					
Both parents native . . .	35.79	37.40	51.91	10.69	1618
Both parents foreign . . .	48.43	49.11	47.84	3.05	1179
Total Number	2307	2354	2388	394	5136
Total Per Cent	44.92	45.83	46.50	7.67	100

istrar General of England may be given as showing in an extreme instance the perils attending child life when parents drink: a much larger number of children are suffocated in bed on the nights of Saturday and holidays than on other nights of the week. This prompt extinguishing of infant life is hardly a greater misfortune than for the child to grow up with irrational guidance and the evil example of drunken parents.

In addition to being ill nourished and often cruelly treated, such children grow up under the influence of a degenerating personality. Wilson says: —

> "Typically the action induced in the brain [by alcohol] is of the nature of a progressive paralysis, beginning with the *highest level* and its most delicate functions, and spreading gradually downward through the lower. Moral qualities and the higher processes of intelligence are, therefore, first invaded." [1]

Children growing up under the influence of parents subject to such degeneration are not likely to develop the higher qualities at all, since the development of such qualities comes very largely from imitation. The utter lack of foresight, and the impossibility of postponing present gratification for the sake of future gain, is one of the pronounced characteristics of the drunkard, and is also common among the distinctly pauper class.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the latest social development, especially in the United States, tends to separate the community into two classes, — the total abstainers and the hard drinkers. The tenser nervous organization of the modern man is in a state of less stable equilibrium than that of his progenitors, who lived largely out of doors, used their muscles in heavy work, ate large quantities of coarse food, and drank large quantities of mildly alcoholic liquor. In America, climatic conditions

[1] "Drunkenness," pp. 15–16.

intensify the tendency indicated. A dry atmosphere and extremes of heat and cold produce nervous diseases unknown to European medical practice, or, at least, known here in advance of their appearance in Europe.[1] It is a matter of common observation that the children of European immigrants usually drink either less or more than their parents, and those who drink resort to the stronger liquors.

The results of the inquiries into the interrelations of poverty, pauperism, and intemperance, made under the auspices of the Committee of Fifty and presented in a most condensed form in the preceding pages, are seen to occupy a middle ground between the extreme views entertained by the older writers and those of Booth and Warner. It is not difficult, indeed, to account for the wide variations of opinion. The older opinion was held at a time when there was little knowledge of the social and economic causes of poverty — when it was accepted as inevitable rather than inquired into. Drunkenness was of all causes the most obvious and the most unpleasant, and being intermingled with the others, was therefore liable to be used as an explanation of all the rest.

On the other hand, Charles Booth and Amos G. Warner, representing two different types of scientific observers, were profoundly impressed with the deeper causes of misery and with the necessity of getting at the facts behind such obvious causes as drunkenness. They were inclined consequently to give intemperance no more than its numerical value in apportioning the causes of poverty. Mr. Booth, having set down as statistically true his percentages of 12.6 and 21.9 for drink as a cause of workhouse pauperism, apparently felt that it did not represent the whole truth and thereupon wrote that striking paragraph which has been

[1] Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition," *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 59 ff.; Beard, "Physical Future of American People," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xliii., p. 718.

quoted ever since as the true expression of the effect of drink upon the poor: —

"Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home, and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met."[1]

The general average of 15.98 per cent, in Table VI., indicating quantitatively the proportion of intemperance among applicants for relief, was taken from Charity Organization Society records, made with the purpose of showing all the causes and for the use of charity workers, and the indirect effect of drink was not included. Of the five Charity Organization Societies which furnished Professor Warner with data on the causes of poverty in 1890–1892 four also supplied Mr. Koren with data on the relation of drink to poverty in 1896–1898. The difference in the figures of these societies taken in the one case incidentally to another object, and in the other with the utmost care — sometimes by a specially trained person — for the sole purpose of ascertaining the proportion of intemperance among applicants for relief, is considerable, amounting in three cities to a total excess of 9 per cent, in Koren's tables. This fact alone would account for the difference of 3 per cent between Warner's general average of 15.2 and Koren's of 18 per cent for drink as a direct cause.

DRINK AS A CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Charity Organization Society Records.

	Baltimore.	Buffalo.	Cincinnati.	New York.	New Haven.
Drink — Warner's Schedules	9.59	8.1	11.1	13.66	15.4
Drink — Koren's Schedules	11.3	21.3	13.7	19.59	14.4
	+ 1.8	+ 13.2	+ 2.6	+ 5.9	− 1.0

[1] Booth, "Pauperism," pp. 140–141.

Whatever the reasons for these differences of statistics, the experience of many American charity workers seems to corroborate Mr. Koren's results, especially as to the indirect influence of drinking habits in producing need. The frequent use of such phrases as "a great curse and the cause of great misery," "intemperance is a conspicuous factor," etc., in the reports of charity workers whose phraseology is otherwise restrained, indicates a strong conviction. Professor Devine sums up forcibly the attitude of those who are in daily contact with distress, when he says: —

> "It is a conservative estimate that one-fourth of all cases of destitution with which private agencies have to deal are fairly attributable to intemperance. This estimate includes only the cases in which there is an obvious connection between the use of alcohol and the dependent condition in which the family is found. The question as to how much should be added to cover the cases in which there is only a partial or indirect responsibility is a matter for conjecture, and estimates on this point are likely to differ according to the standpoint of the one who makes them. It is a matter for conjecture also, and estimates differ here again, as to what other evil consequences, aside from poverty and destitution, are due to drink. That there is an endless train of evils aside from the burden of pauperism and dependence which it entails, cannot be gainsaid. Insanity, suicide, and death in other forms result from the use of alcohol, in many instances in which no question of relief arises. Cruelty, neglect, and unhappiness result directly from the use of alcohol in families which are by no means near the verge of dependence. Crimes are committed under its stimulus, and demoralizing associations are formed or strengthened under conditions in which the use of alcohol is an important element, and it makes easier the path to vice and the indulgence of every debasing appetite. Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, are far more likely to attack those who are subject to alcoholism, and it greatly impedes the recovery of those who are attacked. These consequences are not exhausted in the lives of the intemperate themselves, but are bequeathed to posterity in various forms of degeneracy, spiritual and physical." [1]

In this paragraph Professor Devine was writing, not of

[1] "Principles of Relief," pp. 144–145.

confirmed inebriety, but of the effect of intemperance upon those who, being on the poverty line, came intermittently to the Charity Organization Societies for relief. The effects of drink are most plainly traced in the classes not yet pauperized. It is among artisans and those capable of earning good wages that the most money is spent for beer and whiskey, and the most vitality burnt out by it. Rowntree and Sherwell estimate that among the English working-classes, six shillings per week represents the average expenditure for drink, of families whose income ranges between twenty-one and thirty shillings.[1] The American negroes, though relatively temperate laborers, are kept poor, or at least poorer than they would otherwise be, by occasional extravagance in this direction. A colored man of very large experience estimates that poor "renters" in the South, corresponding to laborers in the North, spend an average of fifty cents a week (buying ten drinks) or about $25 a year for whiskey; that is, "One bale of five-cent cotton, raised by very hard labor on three acres of land, goes to whiskey. Ten bales of cotton being an average yield from a one-mule farm of thirty acres in Lowndes County, the renter tithes his income to the liquor seller."[2]

In enumerating the effects of intemperance it must not be overlooked that it is at once an effect and a cause, a symptom and a source of degeneration. In a majority of cases where the drinking habit has become uncontrollable, it is a symptom of deeper disorganization. Dr. Brantwaite, His Majesty's Inspector under the Inebriates Act, in charge of all inebriates under legal detention in England, states his conviction in the following paragraph:—

"The more I see of habitual drunkards, the more I am convinced that the real condition we have to study, the trouble we have to fight and the source of all the mischief, is inherent defect in mental

[1] "The Temperance Problem," p. 20.

[2] Koren, "Economic Aspects," etc., p. 163; see also More, "Wage-earners Budgets," p. 140.

mechanism, generally congenital, sometimes acquired. Alcohol, far from being the chief cause of habitual inebriety, is merely the medium which brings into prominence certain defects which might otherwise have remained hidden, but for its exposing or developing influence. In the abstinence of alcohol the same persons, instead of meriting the term inebriate, would have proved unreliable in other ways. They would have been called ne'er-do-weels, profligates, persons of lax morality, excitability, or abnormally passionate individuals, persons of melancholic tendencies or eccentric. I do not believe that any drunkard of all the 8000 or more I have known has voluntarily and of intention made himself so ; on the contrary, I am convinced that all who possess a sufficiently developed mental equilibrium to appreciate the seriousness of their condition have urgently and honestly desired to live a sober life, and have fought to this end and failed in a struggle against weakness, the strength of which a normal man is quite incapable of realizing."[1]

In corroboration of this opinion, Dr. Brantwaite presents the accompanying table of 2277 inebriates committed to special care, previous to 1907 : —

TABLE XVI.

Inebriates under Legal Detention : Admitted to Reformatories.

Classification according to Mental State.*

	Number.	Per Cent.
1. Insane — certified and sent to asylums . .	51	16.1
2. Very Defective — imbeciles, degenerates, epileptics	315	62.6
3. Defective — as above, but less marked, eccentric, silly, dull, senile, or subject to periodical paroxysms of ungovernable temper	1060	46.5
4. Of Average Mental Capacity — on admission or after six months' detention . .	581	37.4
Total Admissions	2277	100.0

* *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[1] *Journal of Inebriety*, Winter, 1907, p. 254.

He concludes that in at least 62 per cent of these cases mental defect or disease was the cause of their inebriety; that a majority of insane inebriates became alcoholic as a result of their tendency to insanity, not insane as a result of alcoholism; that in the case of defective inebriates, there is commonly present the same physical abnormalities as are found among the feeble-minded, only in a less degree, and that their drunkenness is the direct result of mental defect for which they are not virtually — though legally — responsible. In these cases, Dr. Brantwaite enumerates three characteristic mental symptoms: an impaired moral sense, imperfect control over impulse, and defective power of judgment — the first being the one most likely to have existed previous to drunken habits. He continues: —

"The early history of all cases where this symptom is marked has justified a probability of congenital origin. Odd and peculiar from birth, these persons have always seemed incapable of acting like other people. There is often a history during childhood of fits, chorea, or other neuroses; as children they have proved uneducable, and as adults unemployable from incapacity to learn the details of a wage-earning occupation. They appear to be unable to tell the truth and cannot be made to see any reason why they should do so. They are filthy in habits, and require supervision, even force to insure a moderate amount of cleanliness when under detention. They do not care in the least for the opinion of others in matters relating to conduct, nor can they be induced to see any reason why dictation from others should be obeyed." [1]

The number of habitual drunkards is, however, comparatively small, and destitution occasioned by them, though serious enough, is not the real menace to society. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that by far the larger proportion of those who drink do not fall into distress. It is only when it accompanies idleness, incompetence, sickness, neglect of family obligations, that the effects of casual and

[1] Similar descriptions are given by Palmer, "Inebriety," pp. 24, 27; Wilson, "Drunkenness," p. 53.

social drinking become obviously destructive. When we know why the average man drinks, we shall be on the road to thorough temperance reform. Does the laboring man spend his margin in drink because of exhaustion in his trade, or because he has nowhere to go except to the saloon, or because it is the only cheap and pleasurable mental stimulus open to him? Mr. Booth mentions that the bicycle has been a preventive of drinking among clerks in London. To sum up: intemperance, as a cause of dependence, is symptomatic; on the one hand of defect and deterioration of personal character, on the other of those wasting, monstrous, and oppressive social conditions which produce abnormal appetites and antisocial conduct.

In the tables of the causes of poverty, the column next to the one giving the percentages for intemperance includes under "other moral defects" the very small number of cases in which poverty has been traced directly to "immorality." This term is here used to stand for sexual licentiousness, or other perversion of the sexual instinct. But the small number of cases of poverty directly attributable to this factor in no wise reflects its importance. Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly produces degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes. A reference to the accounts quoted later on, describing the habits of the Rooneys, the Jukes, and the Ishmaels, will show that in these distinctly pauper families sexual vice plays a part in degradation more important than intemperance.

The medical profession has given us even less of scientific exposition of the degeneration which results from perversion of the sexual instincts than of that which comes from the abuse of stimulants and narcotics. The changes which must

undoubtedly take place in the structure of the nervous and circulatory systems, as a consequence of self-abuse or sexual excess, have not been sufficiently studied. Venereal disease has been treated at length, but the effect upon the physical and mental man of vice as vice has been neglected. The great bulk of literature existing upon the subject is simply the output of advertising quacks.

No boy among boys, or man among men, can have failed to have evidence thrust upon him showing that a very great amount of vitality is burnt out by the fires of lust. Among the rougher classes of day laborers upon railroads, in quarries, and even upon the farms, the whole undercurrent of thought, so far as conversation gives evidence of it, is thoroughly base and degrading. In many cases inefficiency certainly results from the constant preoccupation of the mind with sensual imaginings. At the present day, a given amount of such preoccupation will diminish a man's industrial efficiency more than ever before, because of the increasing importance of the mental element in all work. If a man has brute strength, he can shovel dirt quite passably, even though his thoughts are elsewhere. But most of the occupations of the present require alertness and sustained attention. Railroad day laborers, and others of a similar class, are very commonly kept from rising in the industrial scale by their sensuality, and it is this and the resulting degeneration that finally converts many of them into lazy vagabonds. The inherent uncleanness of their minds prevents them from rising above the rank of day laborers, and finally incapacitates them even for that position. It may also be suggested that the modern man has a stronger imagination than the man of a few hundred years ago, and that sensuality destroys him the more rapidly. A highly developed nervous system makes him a more powerful man, if it is properly used, but it enables him to destroy himself more promptly if that be his tendency.

In addition to the direct effect of the perversion of the sexual instincts must be reckoned the ravages of venereal disease. Among the degraded class it is accounted a mark of manliness to have had syphilis until exposure to it is no longer dangerous. From 25 to 30 per cent of the Juke family were tainted with it. It is this disease coöperating with drunkenness that finally brings the prostitute and her consort through the hospital to the almshouse. There are probably few almshouses in the country where some of the inmates are not paupers in part because of its effects upon them; it is not easy to visit a foundling hospital of any size, or a children's hospital, where this disease is not especially excluded, without finding children in bitter and hopeless misery because of congenital syphilis. The doctors administer remedies which give temporary relief, but the doctors themselves often express a belief that the best thing that can be hoped for such children is an early death.

The following statements made by high scientific authority and published for the information of teachers by the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis sufficiently describe the extent and the effects of venereal disease in this country: —

"Syphilis is estimated by different authorities as affecting from 5 to 18 per cent of the whole population. It is usually very slowly developed, and the final stages may appear as late as fifty or sixty years after infection. It is a curable disease if properly treated for the necessary length of time. That the later lesions are so common is because adequate treatment is often not received, which is of the greatest consequence, since *syphilis is the one disease inherited in full virulence.* 'Gonorrhœa is one of the most widespread and devious of transmissible diseases and more than any other a cause of chronic ill-health and permanent disability' (Osler). This disease, too, is curable if treatment is begun early and persisted in long enough and with sufficient skill. Beyond a certain stage in both sexes there is no cure, although in some cases the possibility of transmission ceases."

"The larger proportion of pelvic troubles among women and of surgery of the pelvic organs is due to gonorrhœa; probably one-half of childless marriages and of 'one-child families' are due to this cause. It is certain that a large proportion of abortions and miscarriages are due to syphilis; also a considerable percentage of early mortality, inferior mentality, degeneracy, and insanity. We have more than 10,000 totally blind from gonorrhœa; this does not include those partially blind from gonorrhœa and syphilis."[1]

The social evil and the diseases resulting from it have been recognized as corrupting and degenerative forces in society for many centuries, but in modern times there has grown up what has been called "a conspiracy of silence" on the part of the press, the clergy, public educators, and even of physicians concerning them. In spite of the fact that these diseases are as virulent and more widespread than smallpox, or leprosy, and that their ultimate victims are innocent women and children, no measures are taken to prevent their inception or their dissemination.

In the fall of 1900, the city of New York was startled by discoveries of the extent and flagrancy of offences against morality and decency in certain districts. At a citizens' meeting a Committee of Fifteen was appointed to institute an inquiry, publish the facts, promote legislation, and suggest measures for lessening the allurements and incentives to vice and crime. Their report took the form of an extensive study of the history of the regulation of vice by Professor Alvin S. Johnson, concluding with an outline of a policy for the control of the social evil in New York.[2] At about the same time the New York Tenement House Commissioners published in their report an account of prostitution as a tenement-house evil.[3] The coincidence of these revelations, with an unusual awakening of interest in venereal diseases

[1] Educational Pamphlet No. 2, "Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis," p. 7. Similar facts in Morrow, "Social Diseases."

[2] "The Social Evil," preface, pp. v–vii, 1902.

[3] De Forest and Veiller, vol. ii., pp. 15–25, 1903.

among the medical profession both in Europe and America, resulted in the formation of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis in 1905.[1] For the first time, in this country, this subject is being studied and discussed by laymen as well as physicians of the highest standing without hesitation and without concealment.

Professor Johnson shows that vice, so far from being a constant and invariable element in social life, has varied widely at different periods in response to social, economic, and religious changes, and has a direct relation to war, commercial disturbances, congestion of population, and employment. He infers that since the causes of vice do not operate with uniform force, it is probable that even if vice cannot be eradicated, it can nevertheless be controlled and therefore limited. Modern prostitution is shaped by the industrial and social conditions of city life — the masculine factor made up of the army of unmarried workers, the feminine factor, of girls and women who have made "a quasi-voluntary choice of prostitution as a means of livelihood." The conditions which develop masculine vice are complex and intimately connected with the cityward movement of population. The country boy, already informed by the vulgar talk of older men, goes to the city; his income for some years will be too small to marry upon; his interests are usually self-centred; the cheap amusements open to him are generally more or less suggestive and he is influenced continually by the prevalent theory that the sex instinct must be satisfied for the sake of health. At the same time the principal check upon conduct — the opinion of one's neighbors — is lacking, while the allurements of vice are constantly present.

As for the feminine element, there is a small, probably very small, number who are sexual perverts; but Professor Johnson declares that the victim of force or fraud, or of

[1] "Transactions," etc., vol. i., 1906.

adverse social and economic conditions, soon reaches a point where she cannot be distinguished from the congenital pervert. By far the larger number of prostitutes were originally not different from normal women; one type is thus described: —

"There is a large class of women who may be said to have been trained for prostitution from earliest childhood. Foundlings and orphans and the offspring of the miserably poor, they grow up in wretched tenements, contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lowest forms. Without training, mental or moral, they remain ignorant and disagreeable, slovenly and uncouth, good for nothing in the social and economic organism. When half matured, they fall the willing victims of their male associates and inevitably drift into prostitution."[1]

Another section consists of those whose wages are often not enough for a living, much less to afford any pleasure. These are the "occasional prostitutes" which are said to outnumber the permanent class in Berlin. A third class, more common in American cities, consists of those attracted by the appearance of luxury and ease of the life of a mistress and disinclined to the low-paid and monotonous labor which alone they can perform. These two latter sections without resources or industrial competence are inordinately desirous of marriage, and are, therefore, the more easily induced to become mistresses, or seduced under promise of marriage. It is most significant that not less than one-fourth of the prostitutes in New York City have been domestic servants — a class of workers who have no normal home life or pleasures of their own and who must go upon the street to be courted.[2]

In the discussion of remedial measures it is customary to enumerate only three ways of dealing with the social evil — absolute freedom, entire prohibition, and reglemen-

[1] "The Social Evil," p. 10.

[2] A careful analysis of the different classes of prostitutes in London is found in Booth, "Life and Labor," final volume, pp. 121–131.

tation. The first is not to be tolerated in modern society; the second has never been successfully enforced, even supposing that people could be made virtuous by law; and thus there is apparently left only the system of regulation which generally prevails in Europe. There is, in fact, a fourth measure termed the "moral control" of vice which partakes of the essence of both prohibition and regulation. The object of reglementation is to check disease, and its essential features are the periodical examination of the prostitute and treatment in lock hospitals for venereal diseases.[1] Aside from the legal difficulties which would arise in this country if the prostitute would not voluntarily submit to examination and treatment, there is the far greater one of suppressing clandestine prostitution. In those cities of Europe where reglementation is most effectively organized, the clandestine and the unregistered women far outnumber those under the control of the Morals police. Moreover, the public prostitute is not the only or even the chief source of contagion. It is generally conceded that the clandestine prostitute is the more dangerous from a sanitary standpoint, and Dr. Prince A. Morrow says of the masculine factor: —

> "The health officer of a port might as well attempt to prevent the importation of infectious disease from a plague infected vessel by quarantining the infected women while permitting the infected men to go free." [2]

Nor does European experience show that reglementation has been to any considerable extent effective in its primary aim of checking disease. Professor Johnson, quoting the most trustworthy authorities, finally concludes that they claim for it "merely a modicum of good, or look upon it as a stock upon which really useful control may be grafted." [3]

[1] For description of reglementation in Paris, Berlin, and other European cities, see "The Social Evil," Chap. III. and Chap. IV.

[2] "Social Diseases," p. 334.

[3] "The Social Evil," p. 134.

Without pursuing further the results of foreign experiments, it is enough to say that reglementation is wholly impracticable for the reason that an American community would be hostile to it. The Anglo-Saxon attitude is illustrated in the English Contagious Diseases Acts in 1866–1877 and the experiment in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1870–1874, which were both overthrown by the extreme opposition of public opinion. Even if practicable and desirable, reglementation involves the arrest of any woman on suspicion, a degree of arbitrary police power, an interference with personal liberty, and a fundamental injustice, which would not be tolerated in this country.

Under the title of "Moral Control," the Committee of Fifteen, and the leaders in the movement for Prophylaxis, have agreed upon certain preventive and ameliorative measures, based upon the elements of agreement in all parties, and making moral rather than sanitary considerations of paramount importance. The Committee of Fifteen recommends: (1) Strenuous efforts to prevent in the tenement houses the overcrowding which they believe to be the prolific source of sexual immorality; (2) the provision of purer and more elevating forms of amusement to supplant the attractions which stimulate sensuality; (3) the improvement of the material conditions of the wage-earning class, especially of young wage-earning women; and finally they regard a better system of moral education as an imperative necessity. They point out that in the whole of Greater New York there were in 1902 only twenty-six hospital beds available for women suffering from venereal diseases and recommend an increase of such facilities on grounds of public health. They recommend further that minors who are notoriously debauched be confined in asylums and reformatories; and above all, they recommend a change in the attitude of the law, which at present regards prostitution as a crime. On this point the Committee declares: —

"If we are ever to escape from the present impossible conditions, it seems imperative to draw the distinction sharply between sin and crime. . . . A sin is not less odious because it is not treated as a crime. Sins may even be incomparably more heinous than offences which the law visits with punishment. Nevertheless, some of the most grievous sins are not subjected to legal penalties, simply because it is recognized that such penalties cannot be enforced, and a law on the statute book that cannot be enforced is a whip in the hands of the blackmailer. Corruption in the police force can never be extirpated until this prolific source of it is stopped."[1]

The acceptance of these recommendations as a programme of action involves driving prostitution wholly from tenement houses and the homes of the poor; repressing all obtrusive manifestations of prostitution as a public nuisance; and the creation of a special and select body of *Morals Police*, analogous to sanitary police, to exercise the duties of repression and surveillance. It does not contemplate the suppression of scattered houses of ill-fame because the Committee believe this to be at present impracticable.

Professor Johnson suggests the prohibition of women in saloons and in dance-halls, wherever immorality becomes conspicuous; that citizens or parents should be able to bring complaint against tenants suspected of harboring vice; the extension of public education, especially to fit young girls for more efficient lines of industry; and, for the protection of the family, a requirement of a health certificate for both parties, before a marriage license may be issued. Dr. Prince A. Morrow not only concurs in all these proposals, but goes farther. He would penalize the transmission of venereal disease on the same grounds that fornication and spitting in public places are forbidden. He points out that venereal diseases, unlike smallpox, for instance, are transmitted by a voluntary act; and he concludes that whether communicated through culpable ignorance, or criminal imprudence, their transmission should be

[1] "The Social Evil," p. 177.

punishable. Dr. Morrow thinks the entering wedge of social control would be the compulsory notification of these diseases by physicians as of other contagious diseases (without the name of the patient) and enforced isolation. But he chiefly emphasizes, as do all other recent American writers, the necessity for the dissemination of knowledge and education in self-control, among the young. Since the majority of prostitutes fall before the age of eighteen, and a majority of infected men are infected before twenty-one, the responsibility of parents, and of society, is infinitely greater than that of these ignorant and immature individuals. The far-off remedy lies in the social ostracism of the libertine, and the decline of the double standard for men and women.

After drink-crave and sensuality, we might enumerate a large number of characteristics or habits which result from and result in a tendency to degenerate. On the side of appetites would be the craving for opium, and for various kinds of unwholesome food. On the side of defects, would be all those sufficiently pronounced to have been enumerated in the table of causes, and in addition the mental incapacity to judge wisely in the ordinary business affairs of life. This last is one of the most vexatious causes of poverty with which the ordinary friendly visitor for a charity organization society has to deal. It sometimes manifests itself in the form of extravagance, but oftener in pure blundering, which does not even bring the satisfaction of temporary indulgence. "Against stupidity the gods themselves are powerless." A proverbial saying, which has a very direct bearing on the subject, asserts that "Poor folks have poor ways." This cause is widely operative; yet writers upon social pathology seldom give it distinct treatment, apparently thinking that it is an individual and not a social phenomenon. The social results of it, however, are not to be ignored. The development of modern industries

puts upon the judgment of individuals an ever increasing burden. The breaking down of the barriers of custom, the rapid changes in the methods of industry, the increasing amount of purchasing to be done to obtain family supplies, the increased need of wise bargaining in the selling of services, the extension of the borrowing habit both for good and evil: these and a hundred other features of modern industry tend to add to sobriety and industry as prerequisites of industrial success, a further requisite — that of good judgment, and a judgment that acts not only surely but promptly. From the proprietary farmer all the way down to the disease-burdened man who decides whether or not he will go to a hospital, mistaken judgments are constantly pushing people toward and across the pauper line. One of the commonest mistakes is an utter failure to appreciate in advance the burden of a debt at compound interest. The chattel mortgage shark, the pawnbroker, and the "instalment plan" houses thrive because of this failure.[1]

Allied to craving on the one hand and to lack of judgment on the other are gambling and speculation, of which Mr. Booth says that they are irrepressible and only to be stopped by changing human nature. In the San Francisco almshouse were found several working women whose savings had all gone in speculation in mining stocks, and among the men a considerably larger number. Betting on the races, buying lottery tickets, and gambling may not appear in the tabulated causes of poverty, but like drink they consume a large portion of the margin which would serve to lift the family out of poverty.

Shiftlessness and inefficiency, the last of the personal characteristics to which special reference need be made, is due to a variety of defects: it may be lack of judgment, stupidity, lack of ambition; in not a few cases to lack of

[1] Brown, "Development of Thrift," Chap. I.; Ward, "Psychic Factors of Civilization," p. 169 ff.

proper training. Often it seems to be the manifestation of undervitalization simply, which in turn may go back to bad heredity, sickness, malnutrition, or bad habits. Whatever its origin, it manifests itself in general incompetence, in lack of the New England faculty of getting along, in want of persistence, in a chronic "ill-luck." A Boston district agent well describes these general incompetents: —

> "They are not intelligent enough or strong enough or skilful enough or energetic enough to do work that employers can afford to pay a living wage for or to manage their own income in such a fashion as to make both ends meet; the men and women who are unable to do the simplest thing efficiently, who are unable to spend a single dollar wisely; the men and women who go 'slatting' through life, who are always thinking they can do what they cannot do, or who do not half try to do the things they are set to do — these are society's burden."[1]

As we have already pointed out in discussing unemployment, the tendency of intermittent and irregular work is to produce a progressive deterioration. The weightiest charge which many vagabonds might bring against the modern industrial organization is that they have become what they are through the effect of involuntary idleness; for idleness, voluntary or involuntary, tends to produce a degeneration, physical, mental, and moral, which perpetuates the condition that begets it. Besides intermittent labor, none of the causes of inefficiency, not even sickness, says Professor Devine, is so important as defective education — the entire lack of training for some and the wrong kind of training for others.[2]

Thus far we have not needed to inquire whether the evil propensities and bad habits which result in degeneration have come through free choice on the part of the individual, or have been the result of foreordination in the theological or the scientific sense of the term. We have been concerned

[1] Report of Associated Charities, Boston, 1904, p. 24.
[2] "Charities and the Commons," vol. xv., p. 150 (1905).

simply with their interactions and their effects. Ignoring all discussion as to the freedom of the will in any absolute sense of the term, it is our present business to trace causes just as far as they are found to be traceable. As an insurance company is justified in refusing to take a risk upon the life of a man who comes of a sickly family, or is engaged in some peculiarly dangerous occupation, so the student of social science is justified in concluding that certain influences of heredity and environment have an effect upon the character of the individual that is often manifest, and that is frequently to some extent measurable.

From the time of birth, or even from the time of conception, the characteristics of race and of sex are fixed; and these are not without influence on the industrial history of the individual, as our tables show. Beyond this, every man has his own individuality — the combination of physical and mental peculiarities which make him a different individual from every other. Since, by the law of sex, he has twice as many ancestors as his father or mother had, he could inherit anything which either of them had received. His share from both will form a sort of mosaic, composed of their species and race characters added together and divided by two, plus an approximate half of the personal peculiarities of each.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, in a chapter entitled "The Heredity of Richard Roe," has concisely and admirably stated what is known of heredity, and we shall quote from him certain paragraphs which have a direct bearing on the question of the relative influence of heredity and environment in the production of social degeneration.[1]

"So in the chromatin of his two parent cells Richard Roe finds his potentialities, his capacities, and his limitations. But latent in these are other capacities and other limitations handed down from earlier

[1] The *Arena*, June, 1897; also reprinted in "Footnotes to Evolution," Chap. V.

generations. Each grandfather and grandmother has some claim on Richard Roe, and, behind these, dead hands from older graves are still beckoning in his direction. . . . The bluer the blood, that is, the more closely alike these ancestors are, the greater will be the common factor, . . . in perfect thorough-breeding the individual should have no peculiarities at all. . . . Weakness or badness is more often thoroughbred than strength or virtue. The bluest of blood may run in the veins of the pauper as well as in those of the aristocrat. . . . Too narrow a line of descent tends to intensify weakness. Vigor and originality come from the mingling of variant elements. . . . "

"Again, at the time of Richard Roe's birth, the formula of his father was slowly changed under the reaction toward activity or toward idleness, resulting from his efforts and his environment. Changes constantly arise from the experiences of life, the stress of environment . . . the growth through voluntary effort, the depression from involuntary work or idleness, the degeneration caused by stimulants or vice . . . and each may have left its mark on him. Through these influences every man is changed from what he was or what he might have been to what he is."

"It seems to be true that any great physical weakness on the part of Richard Roe's parents would tend to lower his constitutional vigor, whatever the origin of such weakness might be. If so, such weakness might appear as a large deficiency in his power of using his equipment. His vital momentum would be small. It may be, too, that any high degree of training, as in music or mathematics, might determine in the offspring the line of least resistance for the movement of his faculties. . . ."

"There are many phenomena of transmitted qualities that cannot be charged to heredity. Just as a sound mind demands a sound body, so does a sound child demand a sound mother. Bad nutrition before as well as after birth may neutralize the most valuable inheritance within the germ-cell. Even the father may transmit weakness in development as a handicap to hereditary strength. The many physical vicissitudes between conception and birth may determine the rate of early growth or the impetus of early development. In a sense the first impulse of life comes from such sources outside the germ-cell and therefore outside of heredity. . . . The plan of Richard Roe's life as prepared at birth admits of many deviations. . . . Experiences of life will tend to reduce or destroy some of these elements. Some of

them will be systematically fostered or checked by those who determine Richard Roe's education. . . . The Ego, or self, in the life of Richard Roe, is the sum of his inheritance bound together by the resultant of the consequences of the thoughts and deeds which have been performed by him and perhaps by others also. . . . The greater heredity is the heredity made by ourselves. . . . With all this, we may be sure that the stream of Richard Roe's life will not rise much above its fountain. He will have no powers far beyond those potential in his ancestors. But who can tell what powers are latent in these? It takes peculiar conditions to bring any group of qualities into general notice. The men who are famous in spite of an unknown ancestry are not necessarily different from this ancestry. . . . Real greatness is as often the expression of the wisdom of the mother as of anything the father may have been or done."

For the purpose of studying hereditary tendencies toward degeneration the points to be especially noted are, then, what Richard Roe receives from his parents of racial and personal qualities, plus the degree of vital momentum determined by the nutrition and conditions of his mother during the period of gestation; and after birth, the environment which his parents and society provide for him. The tendency of children to suffer from certain varieties of bodily and mental weakness the same as or analogous to those of their family stock has long been recognized. Beyond this, occult characteristics, tending to inefficiency and therefore to pauperism, are believed to be transmitted, although their exact nature either in parent or child has not been described.

The transmission of hereditary tendencies to degeneration can most easily be traced where some palpable defect is both the result and evidence of degeneration. In his book on "The Marriages of the Deaf in America," Edward Allen Fay has collected with thoroughness and caution the available facts which show the transmissible character of deafness; and has corroborated the essential conclusions of Professor Alexander Graham Bell. Table XVII. gives the facts collected by him.

TABLE XVII. — MARRIAGES OF THE DEAF.

	No. of Marriages.		No. of Children.		Percentage.	
	Total.	Resulting in Deaf Offspring.	Total.	Deaf.	Marriages resulting in Deaf Offspring.	Deaf Children.
One or Both Partners Deaf	3078	300	6782	588	9.7	8.6
Both Partners Deaf	2377	220	5072	429	9.2	8.4
One Partner Deaf; the Other Hearing	599	75	1532	151	12.5	9.8
One or Both Partners congenitally Deaf	1477	194	3401	413	13.1	12.1
One or Both Partners adventitiously Deaf	2212	124	4701	199	5.6	4.2
Both Partners congenitally Deaf	335	83	779	202	24.7	25.9
One Partner congenitally Deaf; the Other adventitiously Deaf	814	66	1820	119	8.1	6.5
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf	845	30	1720	40	3.5	2.3
One Partner congenitally Deaf; the Other Hearing	191	28	528	63	14.6	11.9
One Partner adventitiously Deaf; the Other Hearing	310	10	713	16	3.2	2.2
Both Partners had Deaf Relatives	437	103	1060	222	23.5	20.9
One Partner had Deaf Relatives; the Other had not	541	36	1210	78	6.6	6.4
Neither Partner had Deaf Relatives	471	11	1044	13	2.3	1.2
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; Both had Deaf Relatives	172	49	429	130	28.4	30.3
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; One had Deaf Relatives, the Other had not	49	8	105	21	16.3	20.0
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; Neither had Deaf Relatives	14	1	24	1	7.1	4.1
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; Both had Deaf Relatives	57	10	114	11	17.5	9.6
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; One had Deaf Relatives, the Other had not	167	7	357	10	4.1	2.8
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; Neither had Deaf Relatives	284	2	550	2	.7	.3
Partners Consanguineous	31	14	100	30	45.1	30.0

Mr. Fay concludes that the married deaf have married deaf rather than hearing partners, chiefly from the sympathy engendered by their condition and only secondarily because of opportunities for acquaintance afforded by the schools for the deaf. On the whole, the marriages of these persons are slightly less productive than ordinary marriages, but their offspring are much more liable to be deaf than those of ordinary marriages in the proportion of 8.6 to .01 per cent.

The table shows that congenitally deaf persons, whether they are married to one another, to adventitiously deaf, or to hearing partners, are far more liable to have deaf offspring than adventitiously deaf persons, the percentage of deaf children of the one ranging from 6 to 25 per cent, in the other from 2.3 to 4.3 per cent. Deaf persons having deaf relatives, however they are married, and hearing persons having deaf relatives and married to deaf partners, are very liable to have deaf offspring. The marriages of the deaf most liable to result in deaf offspring are those in which the partners are related by consanguinity. The extremes of liability are found in the two classes last named in the table, *i.e.* both partners adventitiously deaf without deaf relatives having .3 per cent deaf children, while the consanguineous partners had 30 per cent deaf children.[1]

Dr. Strahan regards congenital deafness as a sign of general decay, which, if deepened by intermarriage, must extinguish the family;[2] and he names as transmissible by inheritance — and as at once results, evidences, and causes of degeneration — a list of diseases such as insanity, imbecility, epilepsy, drunkenness, deaf-mutism, blindness, cancer, scrofula, tuberculosis, gout, rheumatism, and instinctive criminality. While his facts do not support all of his contentions, they show the interdependence of many of these

[1] "Digest of Fay's Conclusions," Chap. VII.

[2] "Marriage and Disease," p. 171; see also Boies, "Prisoners and Paupers," pp. 281–282, where a number of Strahan's diagrams of families are reproduced.

diseases. The evidence of other medical men as to the transmissibility of certain neurotic tendencies is unanimous. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, in 1848, collected information showing not only the hereditary tendency to idiocy in certain families, but also the interchangeability of this and other forms of degeneration.

TABLE XVIII.

Idiocy in Massachusetts.

Condensed from Howe's Report, 1848.

Idiotic Persons.	Idiocy Congenital.	Idiocy Supervened.	Total.
Of decidedly Scrofulous Families . . .	355	64	419
Parents Habitual Drunkards	99	15	114
One or Both Parents Idiotic or Insane . .	. . .	. . .	50
Parents advised to marry because of Ill-health	12	. . .	12
Parents Near Relatives (having One to Five Idiotic Children)	17	. . .	17
Some Relatives Idiotic or Insane	177	34	211
Who have One to Five Near Relatives Idiotic	71	13	84
Who have Five to Ten Near Relatives Idiotic	6	. . .	6
Who have Ten to Nineteen Near Relatives Idiotic	4	. . .	4
Parents having Two to Four Idiotic Children	61	5	66
Parents having Five to Nine Idiotic Children	3	. . .	3
Parents having Eleven Idiotic Children .	. . .	1	1
Families in which *All* the Children of One Marriage were Idiotic or Very Puny, while Those of Another Marriage, by the Surviving *Healthy* Parent with a Healthy Person, were Sound in Body and Mind .	. . .	. . .	15
Idiotic Persons who are Parents			21

Table XIX., condensed from Dr. Barr's recent work, shows these same facts more conclusively.

TABLE XIX. — CAUSES OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS.*

CAUSES.	ENGLISH, 2380 CASES.	AMERICAN-ELWYN, PA., 3050 CASES.		PERCENTAGE BY GROUPS OF CAUSES.	
	PER CENT.	NUMBER.	PER CENT.	ENGLISH, 1892.	ELWYN, PA., 1904.
I. *Acting before Birth:* — "hereditary"					
Family history of tuberculosis	12.9	231	7.6	41.1	64.8
Family history of insanity	7.4	216	7.1		
Family history of imbecility	2.2	835	27.4		
Family history of epilepsy alone	3.9	92	3.0		
Family history of other neurosis	5.1	79	2.6		
Family history of intemperance	7.4	136	4.5		
Family history of syphilis	.5	6	.2		
Family history of consanguinity	1.9	41	1.3		
Abnormal condition of mother during gestation, physical or mental	13.6	259	8.5	14.4	8.5
Illegitimacy	.8				
II. *Acting at Birth:*					
Premature birth	1.6	34	1.1	19.0	2.9
Primogeniture	9.4				
Prolonged parturition	8.0	18	.6		
III. *Acting after Birth:*					
Infantile convulsions	12.2			23.1	32.2
Epilepsy and cerebral affections	3.7				
Paralysis, infantile	.4				
Injury to head from falls, blows, etc.	2.8				
Fright or shock (mental)	1.3				
Febrile illness, scarlatina, measles, etc.	2.7				

* Condensed and rearranged from Barr's "Mental Defectives," pp. 93–94.

This table shows that from 40 to 65 per cent of all feeble-mindedness is due to hereditary neuroses, from 8 to 14 per cent to abnormal conditions of the mother during gestation — a total of 55 to 71 per cent due to prenatal influences. Dr. Barr explains that the divergence in the English and American cases between the percentage attributed to hereditary causes and abnormal condition of the mother is more apparent than real. On this point he says: —

> "Poverty, hard work, not infrequent intemperance, and many anxieties added to the sufferings of the period (of gestation) might so press upon the mother as for the time to reduce her to a state of quasi-imbecility. If to this she should have brought to her office of motherhood exhausted vitality, such a condition would provide fruitful soil for such a development of neuroses latent in the mother; as to constitute in her offspring almost a direct inheritance of defect."

Dr. Barr regards tuberculosis as a preëminent cause of defect, in that it lessens all the physical forces and tends to coöperate with any latent neuroses, thus conducing to a condition of "poverty of being" more to be dreaded than the inheritance of actual disease. He finally sums up his view as follows:[1]

> "The transmission of imbecility is at once the most insidious and the most aggressive of the degenerative forces, attacking alike the physical, mental, and moral nature, enfeebling the judgment and the will, while exaggerating the sexual impulses and the perpetuation of an evil growth; a growth too often parasitic, ready to unite with any neuroses it may encounter, and from its very sluggishness and inertia refusing to be shaken off, lying latent it may be, but sure to reappear, as Haller recounts, through a century to the fourth and fifth generation."

Dr. Ireland thinks that idiocy is of all mental derangements the most frequently propagated by descent, and agrees with Dr. Barr that the tubercular diathesis is the influence most likely to conduce to it. He points out that the heredi-

[1] "Mental Defectives," pp. 95, 102.

tary predisposition alone is, in most cases, insufficient to be the cause of idiocy without the assistance of other influences, and that these influences act with unusual force upon individuals of a neurotic tendency, and they probably determine whether the resultant disease is to be insanity, epilepsy, or deafness, or some other nervous disorder.[1] Again, we learn that the causes of congenital deafness and of epilepsy are much the same as those of idiocy. If we turn to the authorities on epilepsy, we find them reiterating heredity as the chief cause in from one-fourth to one-half of all cases; and as we have already seen, Dr. Brantwaite adds inebriety to the list of these interdependent neuroses.[2]

Mr. F. H. Wines, in discussing a class of unbalanced people on the border line of degeneracy, declares that there is a clear connection between crime, pauperism, insanity, and vice of all sorts, and that all persons of these classes have one characteristic in common: incapacity to govern themselves — to hold their appetites, instincts, and passions in firm check under the guidance of sound judgment. These unbalanced people are unfit for social life, they cannot make the necessary adjustments, and often make themselves intolerable to others. He finally concludes: "Self-indulgence, egotistic self-gratification, is the root of bitterness from which springs every social ill. It is the mother of degeneracy."[3] Yet the facts just cited would seem to show that it is quite as much the offspring of degeneracy.

When we turn from the palpably defective to measure as accurately as may be the influence of heredity in determining the success or failure of apparently normal individuals, the difficulties are much increased. Homer Folks has remarked that the only experiments which would allow us to test fully the influence of heredity in determining the character of individuals must be made

[1] "Mental Affections of Children," p. 20. [2] p. 80 ante.
[3] "Unbalanced People," *Charities Review*, vol. v., 1895, pp. 57 ff.

in the cases of infants whose parentage is known and who have been adopted into good homes.[1] The child who is born in an almshouse and grows up there is almost always a pauper, and would probably be so regardless of its heredity, though in such cases the latter agency usually reënforces the influence of environment. The child that grows up in an infant asylum or orphans' home has at most an imperfect opportunity for right development, and the original possibilities of its nature are but faintly reflected by its career. With a child boarded out in a private family, or given to foster parents while still an infant, the conditions of life are better, and more might be inferred if we could compare its characteristics with those of its parents. But usually the facts regarding the parents are matters of inference rather than knowledge, and foster parents are inclined to fix as deep a gulf of ignorance as possible between the child and its progenitors.

Galton has cited the case of D'Alembert, who was a foundling, and put out to nurse as a pauper baby to the wife of a poor glazier: —

> "The child's indomitable tendency to the higher studies could not be repressed by his foster-mother's ridicule and dissuasion, nor by the taunts of his schoolfellows, nor by the discouragements of his schoolmaster, who was incapable of appreciating him, nor even by the reiterated, deep disappointment of finding that his ideas, which he knew to be original, were not novel, but long previously discovered by others. Of course we should expect a boy of his kind to undergo ten or more years of apparently hopeless strife, but we should equally expect him to succeed at last; and D'Alembert did succeed in attaining the first rank of celebrity by the time he was twenty-four." [2]

But Galton has not many examples of this sort to fortify his belief: —

[1] See discussion, *Charities Review*, vol. ix., Nos. 3 and 4.
[2] "Hereditary Genius," pp. 43–44.

"If the eminent men of any period had been changelings when babies, a very fair proportion of those who survived, and retained their health up to fifty years of age, would, notwithstanding their altered circumstances, have equally risen to eminence." [1]

Mr. Ritchie, in commenting on this opinion, suggests that while it might be true that restless, energetic natures, like D'Alembert or Lord Brougham, would make their way up in spite of all obstacles, it may be doubted if such would be the case with a nature like that of Charles Darwin. He suggests that under many circumstances the struggle for existence may be so severe that strength is exhausted, even in the man of ability.[2]

Since there are no data concerning infants of known descent to warrant any final conclusions as to the force of heredity in pushing the individual away from pauperism or toward it, two other methods of observation, less conclusive but more practicable, have been resorted to. The first is to study the family relations of a large number of conspicuously successful or unsuccessful persons, and learn as far as possible what influence heredity has had in bringing about success or failure. The second method is to study the careers of all the children of a family whose members are in general conspicuous for success or failure, in order to see whether or not the manifest tendency can be accounted for by the influence of environment. This second method is, for the most part, only a way of checking the results obtained by the first. As examples of the first we may summarize, (*a*) the investigations of Galton regarding relationships of the English judges, and of Woods into the heredity of royalty; (*b*) Booth's summary of the "Stories of Stepney Pauperism"; (*c*) the investigation of the almshouse population of New York. As illustrating the results to be got by the second method, some account is given of the study of the Jukes of New York and the Ishmaels of Indiana.

[1] "Hereditary Genius," p. 38. [2] "Darwinism and Politics," p. 51.

Mr. Galton undertook a study of the English judges between the accession of Charles II. and the year 1864. He found that a very large number of these men were related one to another, and an analysis of the facts showed that a very eminent man was more likely to have eminent relations than one who had attained a less degree of success. Out of the two hundred and eighty-six judges, more than one in every nine had been either father, son, or brother to another judge, and the other high legal relationships had been even more numerous. "There cannot remain a doubt," he declares, "but that the peculiar type of ability that is necessary to a judge is often transmitted by descent."

Of the persistence of capacity in certain families he says: —

"The names of North and Montagu, among the judges, introduce us to a remarkable breed of eminent men, set forth at length in the genealogical tree of the Montagus, and again that of the Sydneys (see the chapter on "Literary Men"), to whose natural history — if the expression be permitted — a few pages may be profitably assigned. There is hardly a name in those pedigrees which is not more than ordinarily eminent; many are illustrious. They are closely tied together in their kinship, and they extend through ten generations. The main roots of this diffused ability lie in the families of Sydney and Montagu, and, in a lesser degree, in that of North."

F. A. Woods, in a recent study of "Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty," while avoiding some of Galton's scientific errors, has corroborated his general conclusions. Professor Woods has taken individuals merely by blood relationship and included every one about whom anything could be found. His estimates of their mental and moral qualities are based on the adjectives used in describing them by historians and biographers, and are expressed in a series of grades from one to ten, *i.e.* low to high, for intellect and morals separately. The accompanying table shows briefly his most important results: —

TABLE XX.

Correlation of Mental and Moral Qualities in 608 Royal Persons.*

Grades for Virtues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Average Intellectual Grades	3.92	4.34	5.43	5.51	5.29	5.66	5.87	6.37	6.66	7.32

* p. 258.

The persons whose grade for virtue was as low, for instance, as 3, averaged 5.43 for intellect, but in proportion as the grades for virtue rose, the grades for intellect averaged higher.

Woods concludes not merely from these figures but from the history of these persons which he carefully investigated that: (1) there is a very distinct correlation in royalty between mental and moral qualities; (2) analyzing all grades, the higher grades for virtues possess a higher average of intellectual grading, and this rise is almost perfectly uniform for both male and female groups taken separately; (3) among royalty, where large families are always desired, maximum fertility, on the whole, runs hand in hand with general superiority, when tested by the number of children who reached the age of twenty-one years; (4) the rich are not more vicious than the poor, and as to morality, royalty does not make a bad showing.

While thus corroborating Galton's general conclusions, Woods goes much farther when he says: —

"The greater survival of the morally superior and the correlation between mental and moral qualities . . . would always tend toward raising their average, if *all* be considered as a unit and if all branches of descent be traced out; though great and exceptional geniuses might be less frequently expected. . . . In the inheritance of mental and moral excellence we see ground for a belief in the necessary progress of mankind."

In contrast to these instances of conspicuously successful families the following details of the degenerate Rooney family are reprinted from Charles Booth's "Stories of Stepney Pauperism": —

"Martin Rooney, aged 85, now in Bromley Workhouse, married Eliza King, and this family has been prolific in paupers.

"First there is Mary Rooney, the wife of Martin's brother James, who was deserted by him in 1867, and has had relief in various forms since, including residence in the sick asylum for several years. She also applied on behalf of her married daughter, Mrs. Wilson, and her son Michael appears on the books; but with this branch we do not go at present beyond the second generation.

"The old man Martin, who is now blind, applied for admission in 1878. His wife was then in hospital, having broken her leg when intoxicated. He had been a dock laborer, and had received £21 from the company on breaking a leg in 1857. He was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. A month later his wife, who is twenty-four years his junior, came out of hospital, and was also admitted. The relieving officer makes a note that he does not know a more drunken, disreputable family than this one. He has seen the woman 'beastly drunk' at all times of the day. From this time the old man remains in the house; but the woman goes out several times, and when out, was more than once seen in the streets in a drunken condition. She works sometimes at the lead-works, sleeping occasionally with her sons, at other times in various places — water-closets, on stairs, etc. When her son Patrick was sent to prison for two months, she went into the house. In 1888 she absconded, but in March, 1889, applied for readmission; she had fallen down and cut her face on the Saturday night before.

"This couple had three children, Patrick, James, and Bridget. Patrick, born in 1853, by trade a stevedore, is now in Poplar Workhouse. He was living with his mother in 1886, and she made application for medical attendance for him. He was suffering from rheumatism. He became worse, and was sent to the sick asylum; was discharged, and again admitted a month or two later. Next year he was sent to Bromley Workhouse. He bears a bad character, and was in prison two months in 1888, and had one month in 1889 for attempting to steal some ropes. On coming out of prison he again applied for admission to the workhouse, and was sent to Poplar. He had a bad leg. He got work on the day he was discharged from the

sick asylum, injured his leg, and was readmitted to workhouse. He served fourteen or fifteen years in the Royal Marines, and was discharged in 1885 for striking a petty officer. He was for this sentenced to six months' imprisonment by court-martial.

"James, the second son, is a laborer, not married. He used to live with a woman named O'Reill, but left her, or she him, and is at present living with another woman.

"Bridget, the eldest, born in 1847, married John Murdock, a bricklayer's laborer, eight years older than herself, and there are four children, all boys. Murdock deserted his wife several times, and has been sent to prison for it. She in turn left him in 1877, and has been living with another man since. After this he was in Bromley House with the children. The two eldest were emigrated to Canada in 1880. The man's sister married Richard Bardsley, whose mother, a widow, is living at Bromley, and whose brother and brother's wife both had relief there." [1]

Another degenerate group is described in the study of the inmates of the almshouses of New York, made by representatives of the State Board of Charities in the early seventies. At that time many insane and many children and many of the defective classes were still in the local almshouses. In the rural communities it was found possible to get information as to the relationships of these persons with tolerable fulness, while in the cities little could be learned bearing upon the subject. Although the classes under investigation are those in which the ties of relationship are peculiarly loose and untraceable, yet it was found possible to collect very conclusive facts as to the influence of heredity in perpetuating pauperism. Of the 12,614 persons examined, it was ascertained that 397, or nearly 3.15 per cent, were the offspring of pauper fathers; 1361, or 10.79 per cent, of pauper mothers. The dependence dated back to the third generation in 55 cases on the paternal, and 92 cases on the maternal side. 1122 had (living or dead) pauper brothers; 951, pauper sisters; 143, pauper uncles; and 133, pauper aunts.

[1] "Pauperism," pp. 14–15; see also for similar stories, pp. 18–43.

The total number of families was 10,161. The total number of persons in these families, including three generations (living and dead) who were known to have been dependent upon public charity, was 14,901. The total number of the insane in the same families (living and dead), 4968; the total number of idiots in the same families (living and dead), 844; and the total number of inebriates in the same families (living and dead), 8863. The number of heads of families in the poorhouses at the time of inquiry, consisting of both parents, was 2746; these were said to have in all 7040 living children. The condition of these children were stated to be as follows: in poorhouses, 1010; in asylums, 149; in hospitals, 2; in refuges, 29; in prisons and penitentiaries, 9; bound out, 346; self-supporting, 4586; condition unascertained, 909. Thus about 22 per cent of the children of poorhouse parents were found to be of the dependent or delinquent classes. Taking only those whose condition was ascertained, the percentage of those who were a charge upon the public rises to a little more than 25. It should also be noted that a considerable number of those self-dependent at the time would probably with advancing years become public charges; and while some of those in a condition of dependency would perhaps eventually become self-supporting, they would hardly become so as a permanent thing. It is doubtful if half these children would get through life without some taint of dependency.

Two investigations have been made in this country into the histories of individuals descended from distinctly pauper families.[1]

The first, conducted by Mr. R. L. Dugdale, concerning the family of the Jukes, doubtless included many of the same persons or their progenitors as those found in the New

[1] An investigation of a similar character in Germany is referred to in N. C. C., 1897, p. 236.

York almshouses in 1875.[1] The Juke family has been traced back to a man whom Dugdale calls Max, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, born between the years 1720 and 1740. He is described as a hunter and fisher, a hard drinker, jolly and companionable, averse to steady toil, working hard by spurts and idling by turns, becoming blind in his old age, and entailing his blindness upon his children and grandchildren. Two of his sons married two of the Juke sisters, of whom there were six in all. The progeny of five of them have been traced with more or less exactness through five generations. The number of descendants registered includes 540 individuals who were related by blood to the Jukes, and 169 connected with the family by marriage or cohabitation; in all 709 persons of all ages, alive and dead. The aggregate of this lineage reaches, says Mr. Dugdale, probably 1200 persons, but the dispersions that have occurred at different times have prevented the following up and enumeration of many of the lateral branches. They grew up in the rural districts of New York, and outdoor life probably aided the degenerate stock to resist the tendencies to extinction. The family, as indicated by the statement of its origin, may be considered distinctly American.

From the statistical summary of the facts collated by Mr. Dugdale, it appears that, whether we consider pauperism, or crime, or harlotry, or prostitution, this family produced a number of dependents and delinquents out of all proportion to the numbers of individuals it contributed to the population. For instance, taking only the cases of ascertained dependence in the Juke family, it is shown that pauperism was nearly seven times as common in this family as in the population of the state at large. Under the head of X, Mr. Dugdale classes all families not related to the Jukes who

[1] Dugdale, "The Jukes" (1888), out of print; a summary of this paper will be found in N. C. C., 1877, pp. 81–95. The Jukes were the descendants of Ada Juke, better known as Margaret, the Mother of Criminals.

married into the family; taking people of the Juke blood simply, pauperism was 7.37 times as common among them as in the population as a whole; taking X blood only, that is, those families that married into the Juke family, pauperism was only 4.89 times as common as in the total population. Of the adult women of Juke blood 52.40 per cent are found to have been harlots, while only 41.76 per cent of the women of the X blood were found to be such. Turning to the matter of crime, there are within the family itself some distinctly criminal and some distinctly pauper strains. Intermarriage between people of the Juke blood, that is, breeding within the family, intensified the tendency to pauperism, while marriage with non-related stocks usually resulted in a larger proportion of criminals among the descendants. This is probably to be accounted for by the greater constitutional vigor that resulted from marriage with non-related groups. Since pauperism rests upon weakness of some sort, the tendency to degeneration is intensified by in-and-in breeding.

Leaving the basis of ascertained fact, Mr. Dugdale tried to calculate the cost to society of the entire family of the Jukes, assuming that they number about twelve hundred persons of characters similar to the careers of those he had ascertained. He estimated that in seventy-five years the family cost the community over a million and a quarter of dollars, without reckoning the cash paid for whiskey, or taking into account the entailment of pauperism, crime, and disease of the survivors in succeeding generations.

The second investigation of a group of pauper relatives by Oscar C. McCulloch, of Indianapolis, was suggested by Mr. Dugdale's study of the Jukes, and modelled in some sort after that study, but it has not the scientific accuracy or completeness of its model. The following passage from "The Tribe of Ishmael"[1] characterizes the family sufficiently for our purpose: —

[1] McCulloch, N. C. C., 1888; see also Wright on "Marriage Relationships in the Tribe of Ishmael," N. C. C., 1890, p. 435.

"Members of this extensive group have had a pauper record in Indianapolis since 1840. They have been in the almshouse, the House of Refuge, the Woman's Reformatory, the penitentiaries, and have received continuous aid from the township. The Ishmaels are intermarried with 250 other families of similar habits and tendencies. In the family history are murders, a large number of illegitimacies, and out of the 1692 individuals whose cases have been investigated, 121 are known to have been prostitutes. The members of the family are generally diseased. The children often die young. They live by petty stealing, begging, ash-gathering. In summer they 'gypsy,' or travel in wagons east or west. We hear of them in Illinois about Decatur, and in Ohio about Columbus. In the fall they return. They have been known to live in hollow trees on the river-bottoms, or in empty houses. Strangely enough they are not intemperate. The individuals already traced are over 5000, interwoven by descent and marriage. They underrun society like devil-grass."

Of this pauper family, Mr. McCulloch said he had seen three generations of beggars among them; each child tended to revert to the same life when taken away, and he knew of only one who had escaped and become an honorable man.

If the results of these five studies — two of conspicuously successful, and three of conspicuously degenerate groups — should be accepted at their apparent face value, the conclusion would be inevitable that heredity is the determining factor in any career; and yet a critical examination of them will show a number of sources of error. The first of these is the loose and confusing use of the term "heredity." *Heredity*, as commonly used, means that which the individual has at birth; but this equipment, according to the scientist, is from two sources: ancestral, that is, that which he receives from the uniting germ-cells of his parents, and second, that contributed by his mother during the period of gestation. In the table on p. 99 it appears that from 8 to 14 per cent of all feeble-mindedness is the result of the inadequacy of the mother, and it is not denied that a large part of this is due to poverty and unhappiness of her environment. Although a transmitted

quality, it may be due to environment rather than heredity.

In such studies the fact is often ignored that the child inherits, in most cases, an environment that tends to perpetuate his innate qüalities. Mr. Booth, in his study of Stepney pauperism, could not separate "pauper heredity and association." The children of the Rooneys, the Jukes, and the Ishmaels, unless removed at birth from family associations, had no chance whatever of escaping a degenerate career. Contrariwise, the royal babies had not only the best physical care, but every opportunity for education, and — most important of all — they were disciplined and guarded by superior people.

Again, confessedly, in most of these studies, no account is taken of the members of the family of whom nothing was known. Mr. Dugdale ascertained something of the history of 709 individuals, but in estimating the cost of this family to the state of New York he "assumed" that 500 more, of whom he knew nothing, were equally degenerate. It is an assumption equally tenable that the reason they could not be found was because they had escaped from their wretched environment and had been absorbed in the decent but inconspicuous average. In the study of New York almshouse inmates, 10,000 families were represented, and 14,000 persons were known to have been dependent in three generations; but the sum total of persons in these families in the first generation alone could not be less than 50,000 persons. In one generation, therefore, the unknown element is more than twice the number of the known. But perhaps the most fundamental error underlying the deductions commonly made from such studies is that heredity and environment are independent forces, each impelling the individual in a different direction. Of the contradictory notions about the relation of society to the individual, arising from this erroneous conception, Professor Charles H. Cooley says:—

"A man's nature is like a seed, and his circumstances like the soil and climate in which the seed germinates and grows; the co-working of the two is indispensable to every vital process whatever, and they are so different in their functions that they cannot without inaccuracy be said to be in opposition. It would be absurd to ask whether the seed or the soil predominates in the formation of the tree. . . . Rather we may say that a child — to improve a little on the first comparison — is like a vine whose nature is to grow, but to grow not in any predetermined direction, as east or west, up or down, but along whatever support it finds within reach. We have emulation by nature, but the direction in which emulation will lead us depends entirely upon the ideals suggested to us by our social experience. The well-nurtured boy emulates his own father and George Washington, but the child of a criminal, for precisely similar reasons, emulates *his* father and Blinkey Morgan or some other illustrious rascal. It is not necessary to suppose any organic difference between the two. . . .

"The point is, that a social career is not the sum and resultant of two forces similar in kind but more or less opposite in direction; it comes by the intimate union and coöperation of forces unlike in kind and hence not comparable in direction or magnitude. So soon as a child is born, the nature he brings with him begins to unite with the world into which he comes to form an indivisible product; that is to say, a character and a career. The union of nature and nurture is not one of addition or mixture but of growth, whereby the elements are altogether transformed into a new organic whole. One's nature acts selectively upon the environment, assimilating materials proper to itself; while at the same time the environment moulds the nature, and habits are formed which make the individual independent, in some degree, of changes in either.

"It may seem that one does, after all, select the objects of his imitation and emulation, and that in this way the individual nature determines its own destiny as moral or criminal. But this is only true with many limitations and conditions. Some of us are much freer than others and some periods of life afford more freedom than other periods; but no man at any time has anything like unrestricted freedom in the choice of the influences that control his life. A real freedom cannot exist until the individual is born into a world where there is opportunity for the development of his highest faculties through access to all the necessary influences. There are many children now growing up who are no more free to choose a moral career than an American baby is free to speak the Chinese language."[1]

[1] "Nature *vs.* Nurture," etc., N. C. C., 1896, pp. 399 ff.

It must be concluded that the attempt to attribute the social career of an individual chiefly to heredity on the one hand or to circumstances on the other, and to apportion to each an approximate per cent of influence, is a matter of scientific interest rather than practical value at the present time to those engaged in social reforms. That there are children so instinctively degenerate that neither instruction nor discipline can restore them to normality, is certainly true; but their number is relatively very small. It is even more certain that a large part of the degeneration which is dealt with by philanthropy could have been mitigated, if not wholly prevented, by a good environment. Professor Woods, in the endeavor to explain the overweening influence of heredity in the case of royalty, suggests that it may be that environment is most powerful in the lowest orders of nature, and that heredity becomes more and more influential in the higher orders. Whatever may be thought of this hypothesis it is undoubtedly true that the standard of fitness for those who are to survive and the environment which is to intensify or nullify their heredity tendencies are both within the control of a civilized society, and consequently, subject to change and improvement.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME CHARACTERISTIC SOCIAL CAUSES OF DEGENERATION.

In order to give any complete view of the social and industrial influences which tend to push the individual below the poverty line, it would be necessary to review nearly the whole of political economy, descriptive and theoretical; but we shall concern ourselves at present only with some of the more conspicuous external conditions which produce incapacity and degeneration in the individual. We must therefore pass by without consideration all the poverty-begetting causes that reside in the fluctuation of the purchasing power of money, although many concrete examples could be given of families pushed from the propertied class even across the pauper line by this influence. Neither can we concern ourselves with those changes in industry which have displaced large numbers of individuals, although presumably benefiting the community as a whole, and even laborers as a class. Neither can we take up the undue power of class over class, although it results in conditions which tend to degeneration in the individual, and may push him below the line of self-dependence; but our view for the most part must be limited to the direct influence of occupation and uncertain employment upon health, character, and capacity.

The economic saving which could be made by the conservation of human strength, the prolongation of life, and the prevention of disease, has recently been demonstrated statistically by Frederick Hoffmann. He estimates that the average annual net gain to society of each male wage-earner

employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries is three hundred dollars; and has collated the approximate value of workmen of different grades of efficiency for the years from 15 to 65. Table XXI. condensed from this calculation will serve to illustrate the principle.

TABLE XXI.

The Economic Value of Industrial Labor and Life.*

Age.	I. Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain, $200.		II. Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain, $300.		III. Estimated Average Annual Economic Gain, $500.	
	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.
15	$ 50	$10,000	$ 75	$15,000	$ 90	$25,000
20	100	9,650	130	14,505	200	24,275
25	170	8,980	225	13,695	400	22,950
30	250	8,015	350	12,320	600	20,625
35	300	6,590	400	10,395	675	17,425
40	300	5,090	400	8,395	675	14,050
45	300	3,590	400	6,395	650	10,735
50	275	2,090	380	4,405	625	7,485
55	150	965	330	2,600	540	4,575
60	80	325	260	1,090	475	1,975
64	50	50	170	170	300	300

* *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 485.

From this theoretical estimate it is possible to calculate the economic loss due to premature death or impaired efficiency as the result of illness. If the wage-earner should die at the age of 35, the net loss to society would be, according to his wage-earning capacity, $6590, or $10,395, or $17,425. In addition to this there is the strain on the family resources for medical and funeral expenses, and if the family is driven to apply for charity, there is the cost of

relief. Rowntree ascertained that 15 per cent of the primary poverty in York was due to the death or disability of the wage-earner; at least 25 per cent of the applicants for relief in cities in the United States are widows, and in 20 per cent of all cases treated by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1905, a part of the relief given was to improve the physical condition of the family. The total economic loss and expense entailed upon society by the death or disability of an adult wage-earner is from ten to twenty thousand dollars. Even a man of sixty is potentially worth one thousand dollars to society in economic gain, not to speak of his greater value to his family.

A relatively small but permanent condition of industry in modern times, which tends to produce a residual class, is the rising standard of efficiency. An increasing amount of heavy work formerly done by men is now done by machinery. Although there may be ultimately an increase in the number of laborers employed in industries in which this takes place, yet not all the workmen once employed in them can find a place. Professor Seligman says: —

> "The immediate result is often a temporary over-supply in the particular trade and the discharge of workmen who for the time being, and until they finally drift to new openings, swell the ranks of the unemployed. One of the most serious problems of the modern industrial system is how to mitigate the evils of this transition period."[1]

Another phase of a rising standard of efficiency which excludes the least competent, especially the foreign immigrants in America, is the swifter pace demanded of workmen. In any group of laborers, as in draught horses, the gait has been adjusted to the hours of labor required and the expenditure of energy demanded.

In proportion as machine processes supersede the heavier manual processes, and as the hours of labor are shortened,

[1] "Principles of Economics," p. 299; Alden, "The Unemployed," p. 66; Hermann, "Oekonomische Fragen und Probleme der Gegenwart."

the pace is quickened — men must think faster in order to tend machinery, as a rule, than to perform manual labor. Among a body of laborers accustomed in their own country to manual labor, there will always be a certain number who cannot speed themselves up to the intensity required in America. Mere strength and sinew, if not accompanied by the adaptability of a high nervous organization, may, therefore, be at a discount in the modern labor market.[1]

Along with these tendencies has come the formation of trades unions. The development of modern industry has forced higher organization; and just as Franklin said to the thirteen colonies, so now the conditions of industry say to the laborer, "join or die." Those who in consequence of conditions or character cannot organize, and who for the most part belong to the ranks of low-skilled labor, find it constantly more and more difficult to maintain themselves. Although at the start they may have possessed a degree of efficiency that formerly would have won them place and living, they are now unable to get work, and through involuntary idleness their incapacity is intensified and perpetuated.

The most palpable means by which occupation lessens the capacity of the individual is accident. The industry in which this is most conspicuous is transportation, and no country in the world offers more illustrations of such injury to railroad employees than the United States, as will be seen by reference to Table XXII.

The figures vary from year to year. For example, Denmark's railways killed no passengers in 1903–1904, but did kill one for 1904–1905. Tasmania killed none in 1903 and Victoria only one to twenty million journeys.

[1] See also on effect of speeding up machinery, O'Connell, *Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 491; greater tension in glass-blowing, Hayes, p. 498.

TABLE XXII.

Railway Accidents,* 1902–1904.

	Passengers.		Employees.	
	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in
United States . .	1,957,441	84,424	364	22
Great Britain . .	8,073,000	445,000	736	88
Germany . . .	11,701,354	2,113,471	1199	451
Belgium . . .	33,151,173	431,937	2266	98
Austria-Hungary	9,432,303	1,328,551	1908	363
France	5,260,000	1,052,000	954	355
Switzerland . .	12,237,515	849,820	1070	42
Denmark . . .	18,935,151	9,467,000	. . .	. . .
Norway	7,690,000	4,350,000	. . .	. . .
Sweden	6,667,000	3,450,000	. . .	. . .
Russia	1,080,000	250,000	. . .	. . .
Spain	2,000,000	308,000	. . .	. . .
Canada	1,120,000	158,000	. . .	. . .
Victoria . . .	20,000,000	208,000	. . .	. . .
Tasmania . . .	. . .	271,000	. . .	. . .
New South Wales	5,000,000	589,000	. . .	. . .
South Australia .	6,667,000	2,500,000	. . .	. . .

* Parsons, "The Railways," etc., p. 444.

Mr. Parsons comments as follows upon these figures: —

"It appears from these figures that railroad travel is safest in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Australia, that it is more dangerous in Great Britain than in any of the above-named countries, and that in the United States it is most dangerous of all; about six times as dangerous as in Germany, seventeen times as dangerous as in Belgium, three times as dangerous as in France, and four times as dangerous as in Great Britain. . . . In the United States the control by the law is not effective, and we see . . . the tendency to look first, last, and all the time at the cost and to avoid the expenditure necessary to abolish grade crossings, etc., if they think it will be cheaper to pay damages."

Many of these accidents occur because the railway companies do not wish to go to the expense of newer equipment,

such as block signals and automatic couplers; and others because of excessively long hours of labor, reaching, in emergencies, even to twenty or thirty hours of continuous duty. Not the least serious aspect of these injuries is the fact that railway employees are comparatively young men, at the age of highest economic value to their families and to the state.

One of the largest Life Insurance Companies in the United States estimates the fatal accident rate, as a whole, from 80 to 85 to every 100,000 of the population. The percentage of fatal to total accidents varies from 2.1 in factory labor to 40.2 per cent in accidents from boiler explosions. Assuming that 25 are injured to one killed on the average, there is the result that not less than 1,600,000 persons are killed or injured annually in this country. And this does not take into account minor accidents. It seems to be the experience of accident insurance companies that the ratio of fatal to non-fatal accidents claims are as one to one hundred.[1]

Many of these cases were probably provided for by benefit associations maintained by the men or by the relief work of the companies; but such relief is always partial and temporary, and of course makes no atonement to the industry of the country as a whole for the amount of personal capacity destroyed. It would not usually be easy to trace pauperism in a given case to an accident on a railroad, although the author has himself been called to deal with some cases of destitution resulting directly from such accidents; but frequently pauperism does not result until years afterwards, when a widowed mother has broken down in the attempt to support her family, or when some aged or incapable relative has been turned adrift from the incapacity of the family to maintain him longer.

In 1907 Francis H. McLean made a report of a detailed investigation of 736 cases of industrial accident leading to dependency, which had come to the notice of charitable

[1] Hunter, "Poverty," Appendix, pp. 344–345.

societies. The nature of these disabilities is shown in the following list:[1] —

Trade disease	13
Building	82
Electrical	5
Transportation	25
Machinery	76
Street (drivers and messengers)	37
Dock work	11
Explosions	2
Elevator (attendants only)	7
Blasting	13
Lifting, strains, blows (result hernia)	388
Miscellaneous	77
	736

It is of special significance that about one-half of these accidents occurred to men under 40, belonging to the unskilled trades, whose wages were less than $15 per week. Of the total number 421, or 57 per cent, were permanently disabled: Amputation of fingers and toes, 7; amputation of legs, feet, hands, or arms, 20; brain injured, 10; partially crippled, 8; paralyzed, 5; blinded, 53; permanently injured by lead poisoning, 2; spine injured, 2; internal injuries, 3; loss of hearing, 1; deaf and dumb, 1; hernia resulting in partial loss of wage-earning ability, at least 250; insane, 21; killed, 45. What the inevitable cost of public and private relief for these persons and their families would be, it is impossible to estimate, but there had been spent already an average of $50 per person in 92 cases; 111 had received hospital care for periods of one month to one year, 53 blind and 20 insane persons must be supported, and there were varying amounts of medical expenditure for all the remainder. But this is not all; there was a marked deterioration in a considerable number of families, resulting from these injuries, shown in chronic dependency, intemperance not

[1] Report to N. Y. State Conf. of Charities and Corrections, 1907, published in part in "Charities and the Commons," vol. xix., pp. 1203 ff.

before present, lowering of standards of living, widow's health broken, family disrupted, habits of begging developed, savings used, furniture pawned, and families evicted.

Accidents in mining, though very common, have not been statistically tabulated as thoroughly as railway injuries. The occurrence of four mining disasters within a period of less than three weeks, in December, 1907, in which alone 650 persons were killed, will illustrate the economic loss in wage-earning capacity and the consequent burden of dependence. In one town of 3000 inhabitants the monthly wage cut off amounted to $17,500; 130 resident families and probably 120 families in the old country were left without means of support.

It is acknowledged that a large part of the injuries incident to such occupations as transportation, mining, and factory labor are preventable, and if there were as much direct profit in life-protecting devices as there is in inventions for economy of production, the number of such catastrophes would rapidly decline. With the aspects of prevention and compensation we are not at the moment concerned, but there is already promise of remedy in legislation making employers liable in industrial insurance and in propositions for workingmen's compensation, the cost of which will be added to the expense of production and finally borne by the consumer.

There is a destruction of personal capacity and a strong tendency to degeneration in a large number of occupations because of the disease-begetting conditions that surround the work. Much more has been done in England and European countries in searching out the source of diseases that have their origin in occupation than in this country. From the time Ramazzini published his memorable work, "De Morbis Artificum Diatriba," in the latter part of the seventeenth century, to Dr. Arlidge's "Diseases of Occupations," published in 1892, and the weighty volume on "Dangerous

Trades" by Thomas Oliver and his collaborators in 1902, there has been a series of careful studies of the disease-engendering conditions of the trades and professions.

In this country, however, only a few of the labor bureaus have investigated this feature of the conditions of labor. Among the first to do so carefully was the New Jersey Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the results appear in its Annual Reports for 1889, 1890, and 1891. The effect of occupations upon the health and duration of the trade life of workmen was traced in three industries — pottery, hat-making, and glass-blowing. As specimens of the facts brought to light by the investigation of these trades may be cited that of pot-makers, who prepare the pots in which the raw material for glass is melted. These pots are made of fine clay, which requires a great deal of care in its preparation, involving grinding, pulverizing the dry clay, its mixture, and tempering. At that time little attention was paid to the improvement of the machinery in use and the buildings in which these processes were conducted, so as to keep the workmen from inhaling the dust. As a consequence, from ten to fifteen years was about the length of time a man could work at the trade continuously in health. The report of the same Bureau in 1905 shows a most encouraging decline of the worst conditions in this dangerous trade. While there are a few establishments in which "lead colic," "potter's asthma," and tuberculosis, the characteristic diseases of this occupation, are still produced by antiquated methods of manufacture, and by excessive dust, in the majority of them the trade is now fairly healthful. It is particularly significant that in proportion as the trade has become less deadly, intemperance has declined among the employees.

In recent years the Massachusetts State Board of Health has made a careful investigation of conditions affecting

health or safety of employees [1] in a large number of occupations. The textile industries, in which Massachusetts stands first in point of production, employ more women and minors than men and are generally regarded as unhealthful because of irritating dust which tends to produce disease of the lungs. In the mill towns it appears, however, that the death-rates of mill operatives are not abnormally high, nor do the general death-rates of these towns compare unfavorably with those of towns engaged in other lines of industry. Of the 93 manufacturing establishments investigated, 19 carry on their manufacture under nearly ideal conditions, and 23 under conditions designated as good; moderately bad conditions prevail in 35, and distinctly bad in 16; in all of the two latter classes, the report declares, marked improvement is possible without unreasonable expenditure. The unwholesome conditions in these establishments consist of poor light, impure air, non-regulation of artificial moisture (*i.e.* excess of moisture and undue heat or no artificial moisture and excessive heat), more or less dust (some "infectious" dust), lack of cleanliness, and poor ventilation. In this report, as in almost every other on the same subject, mention is made of the reckless indifference of the employees themselves to ordinary hygienic precautions, even when prescribed as rules of the factory. This apathy of workmen and the neglect of employers have made it necessary for the state to interfere and fix the plane of competition below which employers are not allowed to go nor workmen to permit themselves to be employed. The Massachusetts Board of Health proposes that when there is any question as to the interpretation of the law requiring factories to be well lighted, clean, and sanitary, the inspectors shall use as a standard the conditions existing in those factories carrying on a similar business, in similar buildings, where the health, safety, and welfare of the working people are *most completely protected.*

[1] Reports, 1905 and 1907.

The influence of occupation upon health may be studied by means of mortality statistics, especially those of occupational mortality and morbidity. It is generally recognized that there is a higher death-rate among laboring classes than among the well-to-do, but a careful search among statistics collected by American bureaus of labor and for the Federal census shows that we have no vital statistics that are a safe guide in considering occupational mortality. This results from the fact that a person frequently changes his occupation before death. Thus, if we were to take the average age of students at death, it would be very low; but this would not prove that it was unhealthful to be a student, but only that nearly all students are comparatively young — those that die included. The average age at death of judges must manifestly be greater than that of lawyers, irrespective of the healthfulness of the two occupations. The average age at death of almshouse paupers would be very high. In the case of female operatives the low average is no doubt partly due to the fact that many women leave the mills after the cares of a family come to them, and if they die in extreme old age as the mothers of families, their early service in the mills is forgotten; whereas, if they had died young, while in the mills, their cases would have helped to keep down the average age at death of female operatives.

English statisticians have been giving much attention to this subject for a generation. Dr. Farr gives the data for the following table as to the number surviving at certain age-periods in certain occupations.

According to this calculation, which is based upon very wide inductions, the most unhealthful business is that of an innkeeper, or, as we would say, saloon-keeper. This illustrates again the interaction of personal and occupational causes of degeneration. Next to this comes the business of the butcher, and so on up, the most healthful occupation being that of a farmer.

TABLE XXIII.*

NUMBER LIVING AT STATED AGES OUT OF 1000 LIVING AT AGE 25.

	Ages.			
	35.	45.	55.	60.
Farmer	898.5	821.19	730.06	639.54
Shoemaker	908.8	812.45	690.65	591.64
Weaver	920.3	822.78	696.04	581.20
Grocer	923.7	826.68	696.02	617.38
Blacksmith	918.8	804.84	672.02	547.02
Carpenter	905.5	812.18	676.58	576.38
Tailor	883.7	758.17	631.58	544.10
Laborer	902.1	789.35	652.85	557.51
Miner	915.1	810.79	646.97	535.69
Baker	924.1	787.35	620.51	518.04
Butcher	887.0	740.64	569.47	451.41
Innkeeper	861.7	684.99	491.13	395.38

* Based on table given by William Farr, "Vital Statistics," p. 397.

Another table (see p. 127) based on English experience gives a much wider range of occupations, taking the rate of clergymen as 100 for a basis of comparison.

It will be seen that the mortality in different industries varies widely; if the mortality of clergymen, for instance, be taken as one hundred, that of men engaged in earthenware manufacture is three times as great and of inn and hotel servants almost four times as great. Dr. Ogle grouped the causes of high mortality under the following general heads: —

1. Working in a cramped or constrained attitude, as silk-weavers.

2. Exposure to the action of poisonous or irritating sub-

TABLE XXIV.

Comparative Mortality in Certain Occupations.*

Occupation.	Comparative Mortality.	Occupation.	Comparative Mortality.
Clergymen, Priests, Ministers	*100*	Carpenters, Joiners	148
Lawyers	152	Cabinet-makers, Upholsterers	173
Medical Men	202	Plumbers, Painters, Glaziers	216
Gardeners	108	Blacksmiths	175
Farmers	114	Engine, Machine, Boiler Makers	155
Agricultural Laborers	126	Silk Manufacture	152
Fishermen	143	Wool, Worsted Manufacture	186
Commercial Clerks	179	Cotton Manufacture	196
Commercial Travellers	171	Cutlers, Scissors-makers	229
Innkeepers, Liquor Dealers	274	Gunsmiths	186
Inn, Hotel Service	397	File-makers	300
Brewers	245	Paper-makers	129
Butchers	211	Glass-workers	214
Bakers	172	Earthenware-makers	314
Corn Millers	172	Coal Miners	160
Grocers	139	Cornish Miners	331
Drapers	159	Stone, Slate Quarries	202
Shopkeepers generally	158	Cab, Omnibus Service	267
Tailors	189	Railway, Road, Laborers	185
Shoemakers	166	Costermongers, Hawkers, Street Sellers	308
Hatters	192		
Printers	193		
Bookbinders	210		
Builders, Masons, Bricklayers	174		

* Calculation made by Dr. Ogle for 1880–1881 and reproduced in Mayo-Smith, "Statistics and Sociology," p. 165.

stances, such as phosphorus, mercury, lead, or infected hair or wool, as dippers of lucifer matches, hatters, file-makers.

3. Excessive work, mental or physical, especially such as involves sudden strains, as among fishermen.

4. Working in confined or foul air, as tailors, printers.

5. The effect of alcoholic drinks, as innkeepers, spirit dealers.

6. Liability of fatal accidents, as miners.

7. Inhalation of dust, increasing the mortality from phthisis and diseases of the lungs; the effect varying greatly, according to amount and character of dust; most injurious is metallic dust, as in cutlery, and dust of stone, as in pottery-making.

A recent study made by Dr. John Tatham illustrates the excessively dangerous character of dusty occupations.

As compared with the mortality figures for twenty-three occupations, that of the farmer stands the lowest; assuming the mortality of agriculturists to be one hundred, the ratio of mortality of all the other occupations is shown. As compared with farmers, the mortality in the first seven occupations — pottery-makers, cutlers, file-makers, glass-makers, copper-workers, gunsmiths, and iron and steel manufacturers — is from three to four and a half times as great, and twelve others more than twice as great. The high rate from certain diseases is shown in columns 3 and 4.

The effect of inhaling foul air and of a constrained position is shown in Table XXVI. in the high mortality figures of certain occupations as compared with agriculture.

But the entire story regarding the degenerative influences brought to bear upon the weaker classes of the community is not brought out by the study of occupational mortality, but of class mortality. In occupational mortality we deal only with the diseases and deaths of adults, whereas in class mortality we deal also with the diseases and deaths of minors and of incapable members of the families. Ansell shows that out of 100,000 children born in the upper classes, nearly 10,000 more will reach the age of fifteen than in the

TABLE XXV.*

Certain Dusty Occupations.

Comparative Mortality from Specified Causes.

Occupation.	Mortality Figures.			
	Ratio.	Phthisis.	Diseases of Respiratory System.	Diseases of Circulatory System.
Agriculturist	*100*	106	115	83
Potter, Earthenware Manufacturer . . .	453	333	668	227
Cutler	407	382	518	167
File-maker	373	402	423	204
Glass-maker	335	295	445	157
Copper-worker	317	294	406	186
Gunsmith	294	324	325	153
Iron and Steel Manufacturer	292	195	450	162
Zinc-worker	266	240	347	126
Stone-quarrier	261	269	307	137
Brass-worker	250	279	273	126
Chimney-sweep . . .	249	260	291	142
Lead-worker	247	148	397	272
Cotton Manufacturer . .	244	202	338	152
Cooper and Wood Turner	238	250	276	137
Rope-maker	220	219	267	118
Bricklayer, Mason . .	215	225	251	130
Carpet Manufacturer . .	213	226	245	87
Tin-worker	204	217	234	124
Wool Manufacturer . .	202	191	256	131
Locksmith	194	223	205	104
Blacksmith	177	159	233	136
Baker, Confectioner . .	177	185	207	130

* From Oliver's "Dangerous Trades," p. 135.

population at large.[1] For our purpose perhaps the most convenient class-mortality statistics are those prepared by Dr.

[1] "Rate of Mortality," etc., in the Upper and Professional Classes, Table II.

Grimshaw, Registrar-General of Ireland, giving the experience in Dublin for the four years 1883 to 1886.[1] The death rates per 1000 for children under five years of age were found to be, in the professional class, 20.52; middle, 58.25;

TABLE XXVI.*

CERTAIN UNHEALTHFUL OCCUPATIONS.

Comparative Mortality from Several Causes.

OCCUPATION.	MORTALITY FIGURES.			
	Ratio.	Phthisis.	Diseases of Respiratory System.	Diseases of Circulatory System.
Agriculturist . .	*100*	106	115	83
Bookbinder . . .	246	325	218	115
Printer	244	326	214	133
Musician	236	322	200	191
Hatter	231	301	210	141
Hairdresser . . .	221	276	213	179
Tailor	211	271	195	121
Draper	200	260	181	135
Shoemaker	198	256	181	121

* Oliver, p. 149.

artisan class, 69.05; general service and pauper class, 108.73. The death-rates were such as to give a specially high percentage of persons under fifteen in the second and third classes, and the death-rate of children under five years of age is so excessive in the last-named class that the percentage of persons under fifteen was there not up to the average. Thus pressure is brought to bear upon the poor, and especially upon the artisan class, in a fourfold way. First, the number under fifteen years of age, and therefore of non-producers, is relatively high; second, the expense of a disproportionately large number of deaths is imposed upon the poor; third, the

[1] *British Medical Journal*, vol. ii., 1887, p. 241.

amount of sickness is disproportionately large; and, fourth, the number of births is larger than in the upper classes. The effect these influences will have upon a population of 1000 in each class appears in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII.

BURDENS AND BURDEN-BEARING POWER OF 1000 PERSONS IN VARIOUS CLASSES, POPULATION OF DUBLIN (1883–1886).

CLASS.	NO. OF PERSONS UNDER 15.	PERSONS OVER 15.	DEATHS.	YEARS OF SICKNESS.	YEARS OF HEALTH FOR PERSONS OVER 15.	RATIO OF SICKNESS TO EFFECTIVE HEALTH.
Professional and Independent .	229	771	15.20	30.40	746.5	1 : 24.5
Middle . . .	300	700	26.21	52.42	663.3	1 : 12.6
Artisans and Petty Shopkeepers . .	322	678	23.00	46.00	645.6	1 : 14
General Service	277	723	37.79	75.58	665.5	1 : 08.8

By "effective health," as used in the table, is meant the health of persons fifteen years of age or over; that is, of persons capable of doing something for their own support, and possibly for the care of relatives. It seems that in Class I. there will be one year of sickness to 24.5 of effective health; in Class II. one to 12.6; in Class III. one to 14; and in Class IV. one to 8.8. Thus we have some explanation of how the high death-rate among the unfortunate classes operates to impose burdens that crush them.

It has already been pointed out how constant and conspicuous a factor sickness is in bringing persons to apply for relief and compelling them to become inmates of institutions.[1] The incidence of this burden upon those least able to bear it is again illustrated in a table derived from

[1] p. 42, Chap. II., case-counting.

material supplied by Körösi, the eminent statistician of Budapesth.

TABLE XXVIII.

Mortality and Morbidity in Five Occupations.*

Occupation.	No. Living at 25.	No. Living at 60.	Years of Life, 25–60.	Years of Health, 25–60.	Years of Sickness, 25–60.	Ratio of Health to Sickness.
Merchants .	1000	587.7	28,501.23	27,676.63	824.6	33.5 : 1
Tailors . .	1000	421.2	25,673.45	24,515.91	1157.5	21.1 : 1
Shoemakers .	1000	376.2	23,872.38	22,624.78	1247.6	18.2 : 1
Servants . .	1000	290.2	22,416.92	20,997.32	1419.6	14.7 : 1
Day Laborers	1000	253.3	22,317.04	20,823.64	1493.4	13.9 : 1

* Josef Körösi, "Mittheilungen über Individuale Mortalitäts — Beobachtungen," Budapesth, 1876, p. 26.

This table shows that if we start at the age of 25 with 1000 persons of each class, there will be living at the end of 35 years: of the merchants, 587; of the tailors, 421; of the shoemakers, 376; of the servants, 290; and of the day laborers, only 253. During this time the total number of years of life lived by the merchants was 28,501.23, and by the day laborers only 22,317. But worse than this, of the years of life falling to the lot of the day laborer, 1493 will be years of sickness; while of the years of life lived by the merchants, only 824 will be years of sickness. Or to state the same thing in another way, the merchant will have 33½ years in which to provide for one of sickness, while the day laborer will have only 13.9 years of health in which to provide for one of sickness.

More recent figures are afforded by Watson who has carefully investigated the experience of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which is representative of English workingmen generally.

It is seen that after fifty years of age, sickness becomes a very serious economic factor, rising rapidly in the next

fifteen years from two to ten weeks per annum. Moreover, it must be remembered that these are probably somewhat superior workmen and that the experience of friendly societies underestimates the amount of prevailing sickness.

TABLE XXIX.

Mortality and Sickness Rates.*

Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Watson, 1893–1897).

Ages.	Annual Rate of Mortality per 1000 Members.	Annual Rate of Sickness per Member (Weeks)
16–19	2.5	.92
20–24	3.7	.90
25–29	4.6	.95
30–34	5.5	1.06
35–39	7.0	1.27
40–44	9.5	1.58
45–49	11.7	1.99
50–54	16.9	2.75
55–59	24.2	4.02
60–64	35.6	6.31
65–69	54.1	10.59
70–74	80.9	17.40
75–79	120.4	25.15
80–84	176.6	32.27
85–89	232.6	36.12
90–94	284.7	38.89
95 and over	440.0	38.57

* Reprinted in *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 489.

Of all the forms of illness to which the laboring classes are liable, tuberculosis is the most devastating. In Hamburg, Germany, the people who pay taxes on an income under 1000 marks have a death-rate from tuberculosis almost four times as great as that of the people with an income over 3500 marks. In Glasgow casual laborers have double the

average city death-rate from this disease and between the ages of 45 and 55 their rate is twelve times that of the professional class. In the last census year there were in the United States 110,000 deaths from consumption, and statisticians believe that there are not less than 330,000 living persons affected with the disease. Between the ages of 15 and 30, one-third, and between 30 and 45, one-fourth, of all deaths of American males is from this cause. The close relation between this disease and the different classes of occupations is illustrated in a table collated from English experience.

TABLE XXX.

MORTALITY FROM CONSUMPTION.

In Certain Groups of Occupations, English Experience (1890–1892).*

Rate per 1000 at each age.

AGES.	PROFESSIONAL.	AGRICULTURAL.	GENERAL TRADES AND INDUSTRIES.	UNHEALTHFUL TRADES.	DANGEROUS TRADES.	UNHEALTHFUL AND DANGEROUS TRADES.	COMMON LABOR.
15–19 . .	1.2	.4	0.8	1.0	.8	.6	.6
20–24 . .	2.2	1.3	2.0	2.6	1.8	1.4	2.0
25–34 . .	2.1	1.7	2.7	3.4	2.7	1.5	3.2
35–44 . .	2.4	2.0	3.8	4.5	3.2	2.1	4.7
45–54 . .	2.0	1.7	4.0	4.5	3.4	2.9	4.9
55–64 . .	1.5	1.5	3.2	3.8	2.8	3.2	3.4
65 and over	.7	1.0	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.8	2.0

* Hoffmann, *Am. Jo. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 489.

Here the unhealthful trades and common labor show a death-rate more than twice that of the agricultural class on the one hand and the professional class on the other, and this in those years of life when wage-earners are of most value not only to their families but to society. The further loss entailed by the long and costly sickness which precedes death may be demonstrated by the experience of a single

trade. President G. W. Perkins of the International Cigar-makers Union reported that 51 per cent of all deaths in that trade in 1888 were due to tuberculosis; and although the per cent of deaths had fallen in 1905 to one-half, a total amount of $73,000 was paid in that year in sick and death benefits on account of consumption.[1] Yet cigar-making is by no means the most unhealthy of trades. Referring again to Table XXV. on p. 129, we see that the worst of the dust-producing occupations — pottery and earthenware manufacture, cutlery and file-making, glass-blowing, copper-working — have a mortality from tuberculosis alone, two to four times that of farm-workers; and from respiratory diseases, two to six times as great.

Yet excessive dustiness is only one of many causes of tuberculosis. It is primarily a disease of under-vitalization, due to underfeeding, overwork, congestion, and bad sanitary conditions. Dr. Hull and Dr. Hedger, in an investigation of certain poor districts of Chicago, named as conditions of employment tending to spread and increase consumption: low wages, high rents, and consequent crowding; excessive fatigue from long and irregular hours of work, and unsanitary conditions of the place of employment, such as deficient daylight and sunlight, foul air, and poor food.[2]

Having studied the effect of certain unhealthful conditions of labor in producing disease among adults, we turn to the consideration of the employment of children. Child-labor was one of the first causes of degeneration attacked by the English philanthropists of the nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States it continues to be a conspicuous point of attack for social workers. Until very recently the discussion of the question has been based on inadequate information as to the facts, but in 1907, Bulletin 69 of the United States Census Bureau pre-

[1] *Charities*, vol. xvi., p. 207, 1906.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., pp. 205–209.

TABLE XXXI.

Child Labor in the United States (1900).*

OCCUPATION.	Number.	Per Cent Distribution.
All Occupations	1,750,178	100.0
Agricultural Laborers	1,054,446	60.2
Bookkeepers, Clerks, Stenographers, etc.	25,656	1.5
Boot and Shoe Makers and Repairers	8,232	0.5
Draymen, Hackmen, Teamsters, etc.	11,566	0.7
Glass-workers	5,365	0.3
Laborers (not specified)	128,617	7.3
Launderers and Laundresses	7,011	0.4
Messengers and Errand and Office Boys	42,021	2.4
Metal-workers	23,371	1.3
Miners and Quarrymen	24,209	1.4
Packers and Porters	7,241	0.4
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers	3,240	0.2
Printers, Lithographers, and Pressmen	6,279	0.4
Salesmen and Saleswomen	20,322	1.2
Servants and Waiters	138,065	7.9
Textile Mill Operatives	82,004	4.7
Cotton Mill	44,427	2.5
Hosiery and Knitting Mill	8,267	0.5
Silk Mill	8,938	0.5
Woollen Mill	6,625	0.4
All other	13,747	0.8
Textile Workers	35,070	2.0
Dressmakers	6,698	0.4
Milliners	3,227	0.2
Seamstresses	7,661	0.4
Shirt, Collar, and Cuff Makers	3,635	0.2
Tailors and Tailoresses	10,913	0.6
All other	2,936	0.2
Tobacco and Cigar Factory Operatives	11,462	0.7
Woodworkers	11,920	0.7
All Other Occupations	104,081	5.9

*Continental U.S. Bulletin 69 (1907), U.S. Census, p. 16.

sented the essentials for a clear understanding of the extent and location of the evil. Table XXXI. shows the number of children, *i.e.* persons over ten and under sixteen years of age, engaged in gainful occupations in the United States in 1900.

It is apparent that by far the most important occupation for children is that of agricultural laborers. Of the 1,750,178 children at work, 60.2 per cent were on the farm, four-fifths of them assisting their parents. Since farm work for children is not generally regarded as injurious to health or morals and does not necessarily interfere with school attendance, attention should be fixed upon the occupations of the 688,207 children employed in other occupations. The distribution of this group by age and sex is shown in Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII.

BREADWINNERS 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES (1900).*

AGE.	TOTAL.	MALE.		FEMALE.		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION.		
		Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Total . .	688,207	409,721	59.5	278,486	40.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
10 years . .	20,683	11,706	56.6	8,977	43.4	3.0	2.9	3.2
11 years . .	26,971	15,754	58.4	11,217	41.6	3.9	3.8	4.0
12 years . .	49,670	29,756	59.9	19,914	40.1	7.2	7.3	7.2
13 years . .	89,034	53,029	59.6	36,005	40.4	12.9	12.9	12.9
14 years . .	191,023	113,429	59.4	77,594	40.6	27.8	27.7	27.9
15 years . .	310,826	186,047	59.9	124,779	40.1	45.2	45.4	44.8

* Bulletin 69, p. 9.

The evils of child-labor depend partly upon the age and sex of the child employed and partly upon the character of the occupation. About 45 per cent of these children were 15 years of age, and a majority of them boys; for such as

these labor is not necessarily objectionable, except as it cuts them off from all but the most elementary education. If the occupation were an apprenticeship at a trade under healthful conditions, it might be equivalent in value to a year of formal school training at this period of life; but under the conditions of modern industry this is seldom the case.

There remain at least 377,381 children under 14, of whom 153,707 are girls, whose employment outside the home may be regarded as almost inevitably injurious. To these should be added the 124,779 girls between 15 and 16 to whom wage-earning employment is likely to be far more dangerous than to boys of the same age. Of the total number of girls at work, 42 per cent were servants and waitresses. The degree of injury from such employment depends upon a variety of conditions, but is on the whole probably less than that to which textile operatives (16.8 per cent) and textile-workers (10.7 per cent) are exposed. The boys under 16 are chiefly engaged as laborers, messengers, errand and office boys (9.2 per cent), textile-mill operatives (8.6 per cent), miners and quarrymen (5.9 per cent), and metal-workers (5.2 per cent).

In order to ascertain more in detail the family relationships and social conditions, 23,657 child breadwinners between 10 and 14 engaged as cotton-mill operatives, messenger boys, coal-mine workers, dressmakers, etc., tobacco and silk mill operatives, and glass-workers were classified by the census bureau. The results show that these children belonged as a class to large families of six to eight persons, that as a whole they were far more illiterate than non-working children, and that two-thirds of them belonged to families in which there were two, three, and even more older breadwinners. The variations range from 188 families with no older breadwinner, in which the child was apparently the sole dependence, to 264 families having no dependent members, in which all the older members were wage-earners, and in which the labor of children ought to be entirely unnecessary.

Beyond these figures there are no authoritative American studies as there are in England, France, and Germany, showing the physical deterioration in those who are early put to work at tasks which are too heavy for them or which, by their nature, prevent normal development. Mr. Frederick Hoffmann, the statistician, has contended that there is a tendency in the discussion of child labor, as in all social agitation, to overlook the necessity for a basis of facts and to exaggerate exceptional instances of abuse. On this ground he argues that no legislation on radical lines should be made until it has been ascertained whether children employed at different trades are really physically injured, stunted in their growth, or hindered in their development.[1]

Dr. Felix Adler, on the other hand, declares that it is a "sheer humiliation" to have to prove by argument that a child of ten or twelve years is stunted and crippled by laboring ten hours a day.[2] It would seem that the facts of English experience during the whole of the nineteenth century should be sufficient to prove the contention of reformers that child labor is an inevitable cause of degeneration. As early as 1796 the Manchester Board of Health embodied among their resolutions the following statement of facts: —

"The large factories are generally injurious to the constitution of those employed in them, from the close confinement which is enjoined, from the debilitating effects of hot or impure air, and from the want of the active exercises which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth to invigorate the system, and to fit our species for the employments and duties of manhood. The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labor of the day, with respect to chil-

[1] "The Social and Medical Aspects of Child Labor," N. C. C., 1903. For the historical arguments in favor of child labor, see *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, pp. 313–320; pp. 281 ff.

[2] Address, National Child Labor Committee, Second Annual Convention, December, 1905.

dren, not only tend to diminish future expectations as to the sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance, and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring."[1]

English philanthropists continued to prophesy the penalty that must follow belated and imperfect legislation for the protection of factory children. At the end of a century, the physical degeneration of the English population was revealed by the enlistments for the Boer War and the masses of degenerate unemployables.[2]

In the United States, there has been recently accumulating a quantity of descriptive literature on this subject. Dr. Daniel, from personal observation, thus describes the evils of certain tenement sweat-shops:—

"The finishers are made up of the old and the young, the sick and the well. As soon as a little child can be of the least possible help, it must add to the family income by taking a share in the family toil. A child three years old can straighten out tobacco leaves or stick the rims which form the stamens of artificial flowers through the petals. He can put the covers on paper boxes at four years. He can do some of the pasting of paper boxes, although as a rule this requires a child of six to eight years. But from four to six years he can sew on buttons and pull basting threads. A girl from eight to twelve can finish trousers as well as her mother. After she is twelve, if of good size, she can earn more money in a factory. The boys do practically the same work as the girls, except that they leave the home work earlier, and enter street work, as pedlers, bootblacks, and newsboys. I have seen but two children under three years of age working in tenements, one a boy two and one-half years old, who assisted the mother, and four other children under twelve years, in making artificial flowers. The other, an extraordinary case of a child of one and one-half years, who assisted at a kind of passementerie.

[1] Reprinted in *Annals*, vol. xxvii., p. 316; see Hutcheson and Harrison, "History of Factory Legislation."

[2] McKelway, *Am. Assoc. Adv. of Sci.*, 1906; reprinted *Annals*, vol. xxvii., pp. 312 ff.; Lindsay, *Annals*, pp. 331–336; Dennis, *Everybody's Magazine*, February, 1905.

"The sick, as long as they can hold their heads up, must work to pay for the cost of their living. As soon as they are convalescent, they must begin again. A child from three to ten or twelve years adds by its labor from fifty cents to $1.50 per week to the family income. The hours of the child are as long as its strength endures or the work remains. A child three years old can work continuously from one and one-half to two hours at a time; a child ten years old can work twelve hours. Obviously under such conditions the child is deprived of the two greatest rights which the parents and the state are bound to give each child: health and an education.

"The particular dangers to the child's health are such as can be induced by the confinement in the house, in an atmosphere always foul. The bad light under which the child works causes a continual eye-strain, from the effects of which the child will suffer all its life. The brain of the child under eight years of age is not developed sufficiently to bear fixed attention. Hence it must be continually forced to fix its attention to the work, and in doing this an irreparable damage is done to the developing brain. A child forced to earn its bread has neither the time nor the opportunity to obtain an education."[1]

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy cites as the results of different kinds of premature employment:[2]—

"The wrecking of the nervous system in young girls who spend the years of adolescence bent over sewing machines run at lightning speed; the bronchial and pulmonary affections of the child of the coal-breakers; the languor and backwardness of the little street-trader; the failing vision of the tenement-house worker, and the diseases of the feet and spine which have been recently so strikingly traced by Dr. Freiburg to the unnatural exactions of factory labor upon boys and girls."

In some industries the chief danger to children lies in accident. A report on anthracite mines in Pennsylvania showed that one-half of the slate-pickers in the breakers were under sixteen years of age; yet 75 per cent of the accidents were to boys under sixteen years of age.[3] Mr. Lovejoy further points out that the subnormal wages of

[1] Report of National Consumers' League, 1905, pp. 28–29.

[2] "Child Labor and Philanthropy," N. C. C., 1907, p. 198.

[3] Lovejoy, "Child Labor in the Coal Mines," *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, pp. 293 ff.

these children not only tends to lower the standard of living, but fosters the idleness of older boys, floods the market with unskilled laborers who had neither time nor opportunity to learn a trade in their youth, and thus precipitates labor conflicts.

The interdependence of child labor and illiteracy is illustrated by Mrs. Florence Kelley,[1] who shows that arranging all the states in four groups according to the numbers of their illiterate children, five leading manufacturing states, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey, all stand near the bottom, and have more than 20,000 illiterate children; while the great cotton manufacturing states of the South stand at the very bottom. Massachusetts alone, of the great manufacturing states, lies in group two at the middle of the list.

Miss Jane Addams, from observation of tramps in lodging-houses, concludes: —

"This inordinate desire to get away from work seems to be connected with the fact that the men have started to work very early, before they had the physique to stand up to it, or the mental vigor with which to overcome its difficulties, or the moral stamina which makes a man stick to his work whether he likes it or not. . . . It is no figment of the imagination to say that the human system breaks down . . . and that general debility and many diseases may be traced to premature labor."[2]

Miss Addams shows that the employment of children in factory labor often pauperizes the parents.[3] The immigrant peasantry from Europe and the poor white farmers in the South have been accustomed to farm work from their childhood, and they see no difference between it and factory labor to which they consign their children. The children adapt themselves to the new conditions more easily than the parents, so the parents drop out, with the result that

[1] Kelley, "Illiterate Children," etc., *Charities*, March 14, 1903.
[2] "Child Labor and Pauperism," N. C. C., 1903, pp. 114–121.
[3] Corroborated by Lindsay, *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, p. 333.

the parents become more and more dependent on the children's earnings. The parasitic character of sweating industries and of child labor has been pointed out by many modern writers. Sidney Webb, in discussing the labor of children who live at home and work for less than the cost of subsistence and nurture, and of adult women working at wages insufficient to keep them in full efficiency, who are, in fact, partially maintained by another class, says: —

"An industry, to be economically self-supporting, must maintain its full establishment of workers, unimpaired in numbers and vigor, with a sufficient number of children to fill vacancies caused by death or superannuation. If the employers in a particular trade are able to take such advantage of the necessities of their work people as to hire them for wages actually insufficient to provide enough food, clothing, and shelter to maintain them in average health; if they are able to work them for hours so long as to deprive them of adequate rest and recreation; and if they can subject them to conditions so dangerous and unsanitary as positively to shorten their lives, that trade is clearly obtaining a supply of labor force which it does not pay for. Such parasitic trades are not drawing any money subsidy from the incomes of other classes, but in thus deteriorating the physique, intelligence, and character of their operatives they are drawing on the capital stock of the nation." [1]

In reply to the objections of many modern manufacturers that a particular industry will be ruined if children cannot be employed, we may point to the prosperity of the cotton industry in England and such industries as glass-making in the United States, which appear to thrive in proportion as child labor has been dispensed with.[2] But if some check to certain industries were involved in the strict limitation of child labor, it must be questioned whether the service to society is not after all worth the cost. If a particular industry does not justify the employment of adults at a living wage under decent conditions, the community would suffer little from the loss of it, as compared with the destruction of

[1] Webb, "Industrial Democracy," vol. ii., p. 749.
[2] Lovejoy, "Child Labor in the Glass Industry," *Annals*, pp. 303–304.

character and physique involved in parasitic labor. The time is certainly not far off when we shall demand and enforce by effective legislation, that every industry shall bear the full cost of legitimate production. We cannot afford, says McKelway, to put colts to the plough.

A study of the labor of adult women has disclosed a similar tendency to deterioration of health and capacity as the result of inadequate wage, long, irregular hours of labor, and exposure to physical and social hardships. But since space is lacking to consider all the social tendencies toward degeneration, we must turn to a phase of employment affecting most injuriously wage-earners of both sexes and all ages in a great number of industries. Intermittent, irregular labor may arise from seasonal variations, or from the spasmodic nature of modern industry, or from the inclination of employing companies, as in the bituminous coal regions and the meat-packing industries, to keep a large number of men partially employed rather than a small number occupied all the time. Of the same nature is the unemployment from industrial crises, which leave behind a legacy of individual degeneration and personal unthrift.

TABLE XXXIII.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AND INDUSTRIAL DISPLACEMENT (1895–1896).

	NUMBER OF CASES.	PER CENT.
Cases of displacement indicating industrial contraction	106	22.4
Cases of insufficient, irregular, or poorly paid employment	159	33.6
Replacement indicating no character weakness	128	27.1
Replacement indicating character weakness	80	16.9
	473	100.0

In a study of industrial displacement made by Francis H. McLean from the records of the New York Charity Organization Society, the different classes are shown as in Table XXXIII. From further information it appears that 40 per cent of these men were only irregularly employed even when they last had employment.[1]

But if it be thought that such statistics as these overstate the proportions of uncertain employment, we have only to rehearse the facts of seasonal unemployment in New York City in 1905 to see how serious the situation is even in prosperous years. Mr. Frank J. Warne writes as follows:—

"The seasonal nature of unemployment is indicated in the fact that of the 365,000 members of trade unions reporting to the New York State Bureau of Labor in 1905, as many as 32,000, or 8.7 per cent, were idle in the January–March period, while for July–September only 7500, or but 2 per cent, were out of work. The report of the State Bureau of Labor shows that for the four years since 1901 as many as 20 to 25 per cent of the membership of the labor unions have been idle in January. The year 1905 was an exceptionally favorable one for employment at this season (March), and yet among brick-layers and masons 43 per cent were idle, carpenters and joiners more than 20 per cent, and painters and decorators more than 29 per cent. Out of more than 400,000 working men and women reporting from all trades throughout the state in 1907, more than 77,000, or 19 per cent, were not at work at the end of March of that year, while more than 55,000 did not work at all during the first three months of the year."[2]

But it is with the effect of these conditions that we are at present concerned. Dr. Tatham shows that the mortality of unoccupied males is two and a half times as great as that of occupied males. Mr. Percy Alden declares that the relation between inefficiency and unemployment is as close as that of drink and poverty, and quotes a large employer of labor as saying:—

[1] Quoted by Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 156, 160.
[2] *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xix., 1908, p. 1585.

"Between five and six per cent of my skilled men are out of work just now. During the long spell of idleness any one of these men invariably deteriorates. In some cases the deterioration is very marked. The man becomes less proficient and less capable, . . . nothing has a worse effect upon the caliber of such men than a spell of idleness."[1]

The warden of Kings County Jail, New York, said:—

"Over fifty per cent of the commitments to this institution are for vagrancy — the crime (?) of being out of work and homeless. I am convinced from seeing the efficient work of some of these men while here, that they never would be here, could they have secured employment outside. By our treatment of the unemployed we are making criminals of men who have hitherto been honest, self-sustaining members of the community."

Idleness during a short period, for hard-working people, would be no inevitable injury if their leisure could be turned to account in recreation and culture; but in the situation of the poor it means first of all discouragement and that fear of want which Robert Hunter has said is the essence of poverty. The man must spend his time tramping in search of work, or idling in streets, saloons, and lodging-houses, for the tenement offers no inducements for home-staying. As resources dwindle, he will be less and less well nourished and clothed, and when at last he is able to resume work, he is physically and mentally debilitated. If the process be repeated season after season, each is likely to find him progressively less competent and ambitious.

Nor will the deterioration affect him alone. If he have a family, the wife must take any kind of casual labor that may be available, however exhausting it may be and regardless of her own physical fitness, while at the same time the whole family will have less food, fuel, and clothing. This extra labor and great thrift on the wife's part may tide over the period of the husband's out-of-work for one season, or two,

[1] "The Unemployed," p. 6.

or three even; but sooner or later, sickness or some other common vicissitude is liable to drain the last resources and deprive the household of its independence. Mrs. Bosanquet says that it takes a very high order of intellect to be self-supporting on an intermittent income; to what extent irregular employment and its accompaniment, intermittent income, operate in enervating the working-class, can be fully known only by those who live among them and see dependents in the process of making.[1]

In the foregoing outline of a few conspicuous social causes of degeneration, the element of personal habits and character has been omitted. It is obvious that individuals of strong physique or judgment may escape the diseases incident to their trades, while others who are careless or intemperate will succumb to them. It has often been observed that the victims of tuberculosis are lacking in judgment and as a class more deficient in the practice of personal hygiene than well persons. In other words, disease, accident, unemployment — all the environmental causes of deterioration and incapacity — seem to have an affinity for the relatively unfit. Yet every worker is enmeshed in a network of fateful conditions for which he is not responsible and from which he could not escape were he of ever so immaculate character and habits, of tireless industry, or even of a considerable degree of capacity.

We found that disease produces poverty, and we now find that poverty produces disease; that poverty comes from degeneration and incapacity, and now that degeneration and incapacity come from poverty. Yet it is not without benefit to trace the whole dismal round of this vicious circle, for it well illustrates the interaction of social forces. A produces B, and B reacts to increase A. In biblical phrase, "The destruction of the poor is their poverty."

[1] **"Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 97.**

The "unfit" aid in accomplishing their own extermination. But in tracing the long circle the number of those forces which are distinctly preventable constantly grows, and includes not only the diseases of occupations, but also many of those pertaining to the manner of living, concerning which nothing has yet been said.

CHAPTER V.[1]

FACTS AND CONDITIONS OF POVERTY.

THUS far, in the study of the causes of poverty, the larger part of the American material has been derived from the Charity Organization Society schedules devised in 1888. Although the general conclusions drawn from them have not been disputed, the limitations of the case-counting method have been increasingly evident. In 1899 the committee of the National Conference revised and rearranged the schedules, throwing out a number of the minor causes, and regrouping the more conspicuous under "Causes within the Family and outside the Family," instead of under "Misconduct and Misfortune." [2]

CAUSES OF DISTRESS.

I. *Causes within the Family.*

Disregard of family ties (desertion, neglect to contribute by children, brothers, sisters, or other natural supporters).
Intemperance (abuse of stimulants or narcotics).
Dishonesty or other moral defects.
Lack of thrift, industry, or judgment.
Physical or mental defects (blind, deaf, crippled from birth, insane, feeble-minded).
Sickness, death, or accident.

II. *Causes outside the Family.*

Lack of employment not due to employee (changes in trade, introduction of machinery, hard times, strike or lockout, partial or complete shut-down, removal of industry, etc.
Defective sanitation.

[1] Interpolated by the Reviser.
[2] Schedule form reproduced in *Charities Review*, vol. viii., 1898, p. 470.

Degrading surroundings.
Unwise philanthropy.
Public calamity.

III. *Unclassified.*

The schedule as thus modified was less mechanical and the assumption of the family rather than the individual as the unit of observation was a great gain in logic, but it did not remove the fundamental objections to the method. Between 1899 and 1907 the rapidly changing view of poverty caused several leading societies to discontinue the use of the new schedules, and the scientific errors of the method were finally set forth fully in an address made by Miss Lilian Brandt, Statistician of the New York Charity Organization Society, before the Philadelphia Conference of Charities in 1907.[1]

Miss Brandt attacked the method on several grounds, but chiefly that case-counting reflected the mind of the agent who set down the cause, rather than the cause itself, and that it assumed both that it is possible to decide on a principal cause and that the person who has the task can do it. She says: —

"What the decision as to the cause of need will be in any case depends not on the facts of the case, but on the knowledge of them several generations back by the person making the decision, *plus* his own bias, determined by natural temperament and education, *plus* his ability to recognize a cause when he sees it. In other words, the decision is merely an expression of opinion, and is of no scientific value."

Describing the effect of the altered views of poverty Miss Brandt continues: —

"In general the change has consisted in moving the causes in the first group over into the second, placing them under the head, 'outside the family.' Behind 'disregard of family ties' we see defective education of both boys and girls, instability of employment, the influence of institution life; behind 'intemperance' we see poor food, congested living, lack of opportunities for wholesome recreation, and the power of the liquor trust; in the place of 'licentiousness' and 'dishonesty'

[1] To be published in the *Quar. Jour. of Econ.*, 1908.

and 'other moral defects' (when they *are* causes of poverty, being much more frequently devices for escape from poverty) we are inclined to put primarily our ridiculously ineffectual penal methods, and again defective education, and again unwholesome conditions of modern city life; 'lack of industry, thrift, and judgment' appear in many cases to be really the results of poverty — the lack of imagination induced by years of privation showing itself in shiftlessness, undernourishment in laziness and mental sluggishness, and premature employment, which we would doubtless have commended as thrift a generation ago, in lack of industry in the grown man. 'Physical and mental defects' are to us now the outward and visible signs of inadequate provision for the segregation and education of defectives, careless neglect of the welfare of school children, unintelligent and indifferent methods of instruction in the public schools. 'Sickness, accident, and death' we analyze: the sickness is traced to ignorance of the causes of preventable disease, to bad sanitary conditions in dwelling and workshop, to insufficient provision for curing certain kinds of illness, to the ignorance of great numbers of mothers concerning the care of their babies, to the action of commercial interests which make it a difficult matter for even the well-to-do to get pure milk and food, to governmental inefficiency exhibited in a contaminated water-supply and dirty streets; for accident we read neglect to provide safety devices or to permit them to be used, and an evasion of responsibility for the results which is none the less criminal because legalized by the construction of the courts; and almost every death that is a cause of dependence we know now is preventable, which is equivalent to saying that we have found a cause farther back than 'death,' and that we have also found out how that cause may be controlled.

"The renowned causes of poverty are, in short, largely symptoms and results of poverty. They are, to be sure, potent to produce more poverty, but they are not the beginning."

At the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1906, Dr. Lee K. Frankel offered a new classification of the causes of dependence which still further reflects the more modern attitude. It consists of four divisions only: ignorance, industrial inefficiency, exploitation of labor, and defects of governmental supervision. Miss Brandt thinks this should be reduced to two, cutting out ignorance and inefficiency as the result of the other two; but

she would add a third heading to express: "the defective will which chooses unwisely in the face of knowledge and the selfishness which evades responsibility." She prophesies, moreover, that when exploitation of labor and defective governmental supervision have been eliminated, "the irreducible minimum of natural depravity, moral defects, or whatever it may be called, will not be large enough to constitute a serious problem."

Her conclusion is: "the removal of the existing visible effects of the 'underlying causes' will do almost as well as the removal of the causes themselves, or, in other words, poverty is itself the most potent cause of poverty and the most responsive to treatment." What philanthropy has to deal with, then, is "adverse conditions," which may be studied by observing dependent families or by pursuing some injurious feature of city life to its effects — "These adverse conditions in the city are the 'underlying causes'; the adverse conditions in the families are effects." What we need to know is, not what amount of poverty is due to this or that "cause," but, for instance, how much sickness or unemployment there is at work producing poverty and how to remedy it.

The first study made from this point of view to ascertain the "adverse conditions" of dependent families was made by Miss Brandt for the Committee of Social Research of the New York Charity Organization Society in 1905.[1] Of the 1531 district cases studied, 44.54 per cent had not been recorded in the Registration Bureau previous to the present application, which corroborates Professor Warner's statement that those who apply for relief to the Charity Organization Societies are not permanently dependent, but such as are ordinarily self-supporting, and require help only at critical times. Diagram I. shows that a majority of them

[1] Report N. Y. C. O. S., 1904–1905, pp. 63 ff.; the most important part of this valuable report is reprinted in *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xv., 1906, pp. 62 ff. Diagrams I., II., and III. are reproduced from this report.

(54.23 per cent) are normal family groups; widows form one-quarter of the whole number; married couples without children are chiefly aged persons; and the absence of single men and women is explained by their treatment in another bureau.

DIAGRAM I.

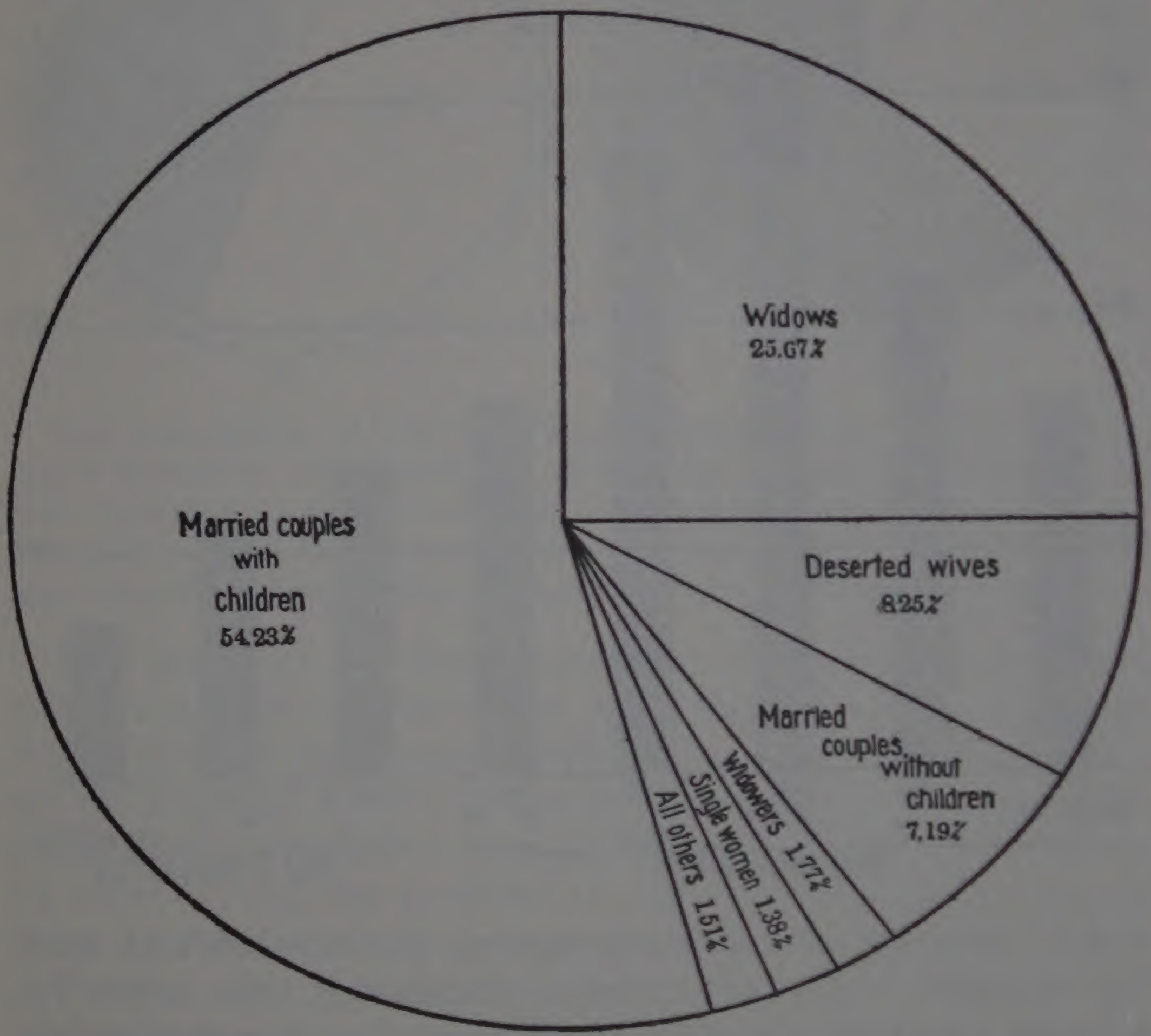
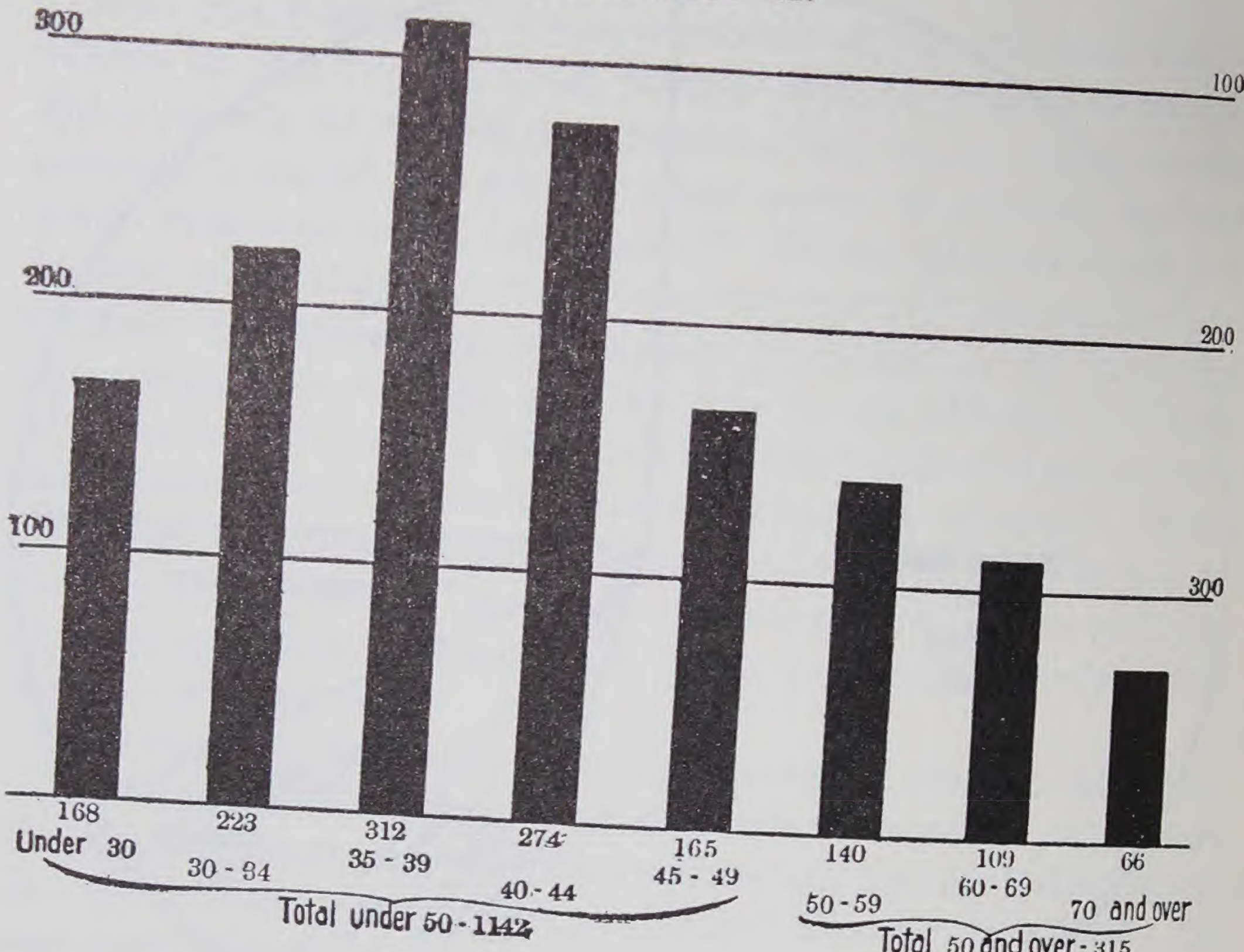


Diagram II., of the Age of Heads of Families by groups, shows that a large proportion of them are young persons — 75 per cent under 50, and 11 per cent under 30, years of age.

Of the 4253 children of these families under 21 years of age, 95.21 per cent were at home, 1.5 per cent with

relatives, leaving only 3.29 per cent (a very small number) who had been placed in institutions. Twenty per cent of the families with children had five or more, indicating that large families were a factor in producing dependence. Elsewhere Miss Brandt discusses the social influences tending to narrow the wage-earning period by curtailing both

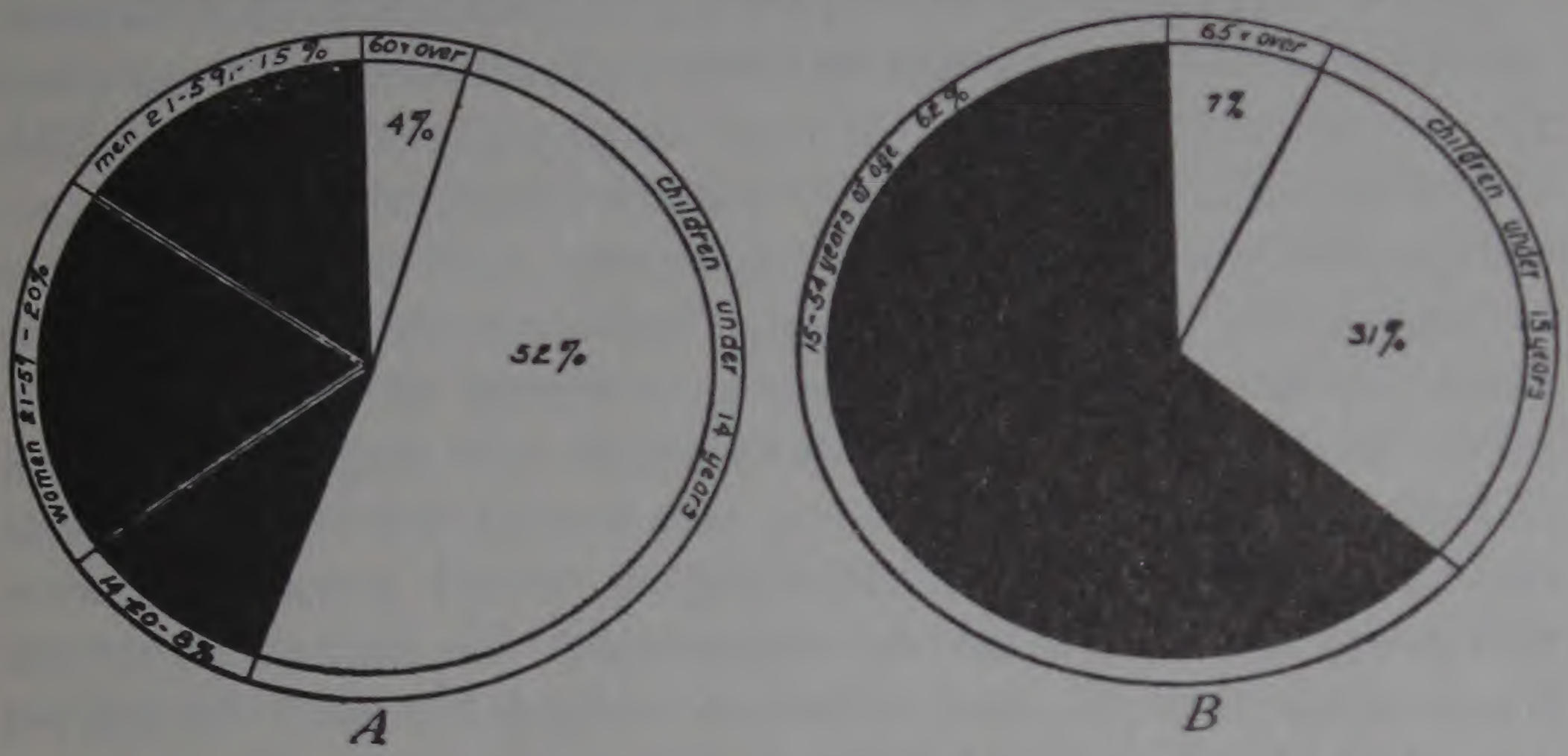
DIAGRAM II.



ends. Society is constantly raising the age limit of work for children, while the tendency of industry is to throw out a larger and larger section of old men, thus lengthening the periods of normal dependence at the expense of the productive years. Fifty-two per cent of the children of these families were under 14 years of age; while very few instances of capacity for full self-support are found among the individuals who were over 60 years of age. In these respects, this dependent group is abnormal, as shown by Diagram III.

DIAGRAM III.

Proportion of Dependents of Wage-earning Age As compared with General Population of New York City.



Age composition of 1527 families in charge of the Charity Organization Society in 1905 (circle A), and of the aggregate population of New York City in 1900 (circle B). The black segment of each circle indicates roughly the proportion of the population of wage-earning age; the white segment the proportion which is naturally dependent.

It is seen that children among the dependents constitute more than half of the whole number, while they are less than a third of the general population; and that the proportion of men and women in the prime of life is considerably smaller among the first class as compared with the second. In other words, the number of the naturally dependent is large, and the number of wage-earners relatively small.

Finally the investigator concluded that lack of employment was perhaps the most constant characteristic of dependent families. In 71 per cent of them the chief wage-earner was out of work at the time of the application. Although the reason for idleness was rarely stated, the concurrent circumstances were frequently illness and injury due to accident. There was frequently a disinclination to work regularly, usually connected with intemperance. Sometimes the

man was incapacitated, sometimes of less than average ability, occasionally there was no market for his peculiar talents, or there was a slack season in his trade.

It seemed clear that most of the idleness was due to incapacity of some sort rather than to industrial conditions; and the incapacity, in turn, to illness or physical disability. The characteristic illnesses were tuberculosis, rheumatism (accompanied generally by intemperance), and childbirth. The impossibility of distinguishing between shiftlessness as a moral defect and shiftlessness as a result of under-nourishment made it difficult to determine the degree of moral defects; but as written down, one-fourth were intemperate, one-fifth deserted their families, a small proportion were shiftless, unreliable, or bad-tempered. To make the picture truer must be included: "those intangible and ill-defined defects . . . perversities of temper and peculiarities of temperament which in a millionnaire may pass unnoticed, but which in a man on the poverty line are of vital significance to his economic standing."[1]

The second way of studying the adverse conditions of the poor is the pursuit of a single evil from its effects backward through the network of municipal, industrial, commercial, or political influences which promote or suffer or superinduce it. Of this character are the reports on unsanitary housing, on tuberculosis, desertion, child labor, sweating industries, and similar evils, which are the premonition and the basis of intelligent reform.

We have been chiefly concerned in the three preceding chapters with the historical development of the explanations of poverty and pauperism, and in setting forth the conclusions so far attained by the statistical method from the study of dependents. It is impossible to say to what extent the rapid evolution of these latest views of social rather than individual responsibility for poverty is the logical

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–81, digest of conclusions.

result of democratic theories in this country; or how far they have been influenced by economics and biology. But unquestionably the work of Charles Booth and B. Seebohm Rowntree in England has been the crystallizing force to determine the form which social research has assumed so suddenly in America.

Since the publication of the first edition of Warner's "American Charities," in 1894, Charles Booth has completed his monumental study of the life and labor of the people of London, and this has been followed by other studies on a smaller scale but of a more intensive character both in England and America.

The pictures drawn by Booth and Rowntree, of whole cross-sections of the population of London and York, furnished for the first time a basis for an estimate of the amount and proportions of absolute and relative poverty. Mr. Booth and his assistants, between 1886 and 1903, collated an immense mass of material concerning the wage-earning classes of East London in their family, social, and industrial life, with the purpose of picturing the conditions of each class and the relation of welfare to earnings. He divided the population of London into eight classes according to the earnings of the head of the family, as follows: —

A. Lowest class — occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

B. Casual earnings — "very poor."

C. Intermittent earnings } "the poor."
D. Small regular earnings }

E. Regular standard earnings — unskilled labor.

F. Higher-class labor — foremen and skilled artisans.

G. Lower middle class.

H. Upper middle or "servant-keeping" class.

Having determined that an income of 21*s.* per week was the minimum amount which would barely maintain a family of five persons, he estimated, on the basis of his investiga-

tions, the proportions of the population belonging to these several classes: —

A — the lowest *B* — very poor	} below 18*s.* a week	37,610 or 0.7%
C and *D* — poor, 18*s.* to 21*s.* a week		316,834 or 7.5%
		938,293 or 22.8%
	In Poverty	30.7%
E — working class — 22*s.* to 30*s.* a week *F* — working class — 30*s.* to 50*s.* a week	}	2,166,503 or 51.5%
G and *H* — middle class and above		749,930 or 7.8%
	In Comfort	69.3%
Inmates of institutions		99,830
Total		4,309,000

From this classification it appears that classes *A* to *D* — "those sinking into want" — constituted 30.7 per cent or nearly one-third of the whole population; while classes *E* to *H* — those "in comfort rising to affluence" — constituted 69.3 per cent of the whole.

In 1899 Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, with his assistants, made a house-to-house inquiry, covering 11,560 families, two-thirds of the population of the city of York, England. His tables are not directly comparable with those of Mr. Booth, owing to the fact that they are based on the total family income, instead of the weekly wages of the chief wage-earner, and owing also to his different division of classes. Table XXXIV. presents the results of his classification by income.

Applying Mr. Rowntree's minimum income standard of 21*s.* 8*d.* — estimated on the basis of scientifically determined food values — to this table, it appears that 7230 persons had less than this amount weekly, and 2312 others not more than 2*s.* above it. Mr. Rowntree finally concluded that 27.84 per cent of the population of York below the "servant-keeping" class were in poverty; that is, were "living in a state of poverty (total earnings insufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and shelter for the maintenance of physical

efficiency) or so near to that state that they are liable to sink into it at any moment."

TABLE XXXIV.

Classification of the Population of York by Income.

(*Rowntree, p. 21.*)

CLASS.	Family Income for Moderate Family, *i.e.* Two Adults plus Two to Four Children.	Number in Each Class.	Percentage in Each Class of Total Wage-earners.*	Percentage of Total Population.
A	Under 18*s.* per week . . .	1,957	4.2	2.6
	Earning Money, Average 11*s.* 1589			
	Dependent on Charity, 368			
B	19*s.* and under 21*s.* . . .	4,492	9.6	5.9
	Above 21*s.* and under 21*s.* 8*d.* 781			
C	21*s.* and under 30*s.* . . .	15,710	33.6	20.7
D	Over 30*s.*	24,595	52.6	32.4
E	Female Domestic Servants .	4,296		5.7
F	Servant-keeping Class . .	21,830		28.8
G	In Public Institutions . .	2,932		3.9
		75,812	100.0	100.0

* Excluding domestic servants and those in public institutions.

As to the amount of poverty in the United States there is not even an approximate measure. Mr. Robert Hunter made an estimate of the number of persons in distress in New York and Boston in recent years, by collating the figures of institutional and outdoor relief, with these results: —

1903 20 per cent of the people of Boston in distress.
1897 19 per cent of the people of New York State in distress.
1899 18 per cent of the people of New York in distress.
1903 14 per cent of the families of Manhattan evicted every year.
10 per cent (about) of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials.

On this basis he estimated — "conservatively" — that certainly not less than 14 per cent of the people in prosperous times, and probably not less than 20 per cent in bad times, are in distress.[1] The number of unknown and variable factors in such an estimate make it of no value for the purpose of comparison, but it has served, nevertheless, to direct attention to the question as to how much of this distress is remediable.

Mr. Frederick L. Hoffmann, statistician, has recently called attention to the available statistics on pauperism in the State documents, especially those of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Indiana.[2] The annual reports of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity show that the number of paupers in institutions increased from 4.3 per 1000 of the population in 1877–1886 to 4.4 during 1887–1896 and finally to 5.1 during the last ten years. At the same time there has been a material increase in the per capita cost of support. In the city of Boston, on the other hand, the number of paupers per 1000 of the population declined from 2.3 in 1888 to 1.5 in 1905. Mr. Hoffmann does not argue from these and other interesting data which he quotes that poverty or pauperism is increasing or decreasing, but merely urges that here exists the material for ascertaining the causes and progress of pauperism in certain localities and for a history of poor-law administration.

From the standpoint of prevention and relief it is of far less importance to know just how many people are in distress than to know how to save them from falling into it or how to extricate them from it. In recent years relief workers have laid increasing emphasis on the necessity of adequate relief; while neighborhood workers, with equal insistence, have declared that the total income of many decent and hard-working people was so much below a living stand-

[1] Hunter, "Poverty," pp. 20–27.
[2] N. C. C., 1907, p. 132 ff.; 12 valuable tables.

ard that degeneration, if not dependence, must be the result. As we have seen, in the studies of Booth and Rowntree, a "poverty line" was established, below which the struggle for existence must inevitably end in a degree of failure. Stimulated by these studies and influenced by their own experience, charity agents, settlement workers, and philanthropists generally have concentrated their research upon the determination of the poverty line in American cities.

It has generally been conceded that the standard of living of the working classes in the United States is considerably above that of Europe, but there has been very little accurate information as to what that standard was in given localities or what its relation was to the standard of compensation. In this country the first step has been to ascertain the incomes of considerable bodies of the population and how those incomes were spent. Three studies on the standards and cost of living have already been published: one, of 25,440 workingmen's families throughout the United States having less than $1200 a year income, by the United States Commissioner of Labor; a second, of 200 families in New York City, by Mrs. Louise Boland More, under the auspices of the Greenwich House Committee on Social Investigations; and a third, of 612 families (chiefly in New York City), by the Special Committee on Standard of Living of the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections.[1] It would be impossible to compare the results of these studies with the European investigations because of differences of methods and of standards both of living and compensation; but they are readily comparable with each other.

Out of the total 25,440 families investigated by the Bureau of Labor, 11,156 were selected as "normal" families; that

[1] Eighteenth Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1903. More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," 1907. Frankel, Preliminary Report of Special Committee on Standard of Living, N. Y. Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1907.

TABLE XXXV.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN 11,156 NORMAL FAMILIES*

Having an Average Income of $650.98 a year, for an Average Family of 3.96 Persons.

CLASSIFIED INCOME.	TOTAL FAMILIES.	EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY FOR							
		Rent.	Fuel.	Light-ing.	Clothing.	Sundries.	Total of Pre-ceding.	Food.	Total of All.
Income under $200	32	33.16	13.10	2.48	17.00	30.52	96.26	99.59	195.85
Income $200 or under $300 . .	115	56.29	19.01	3.54	27.05	58.62	164.51	147.84	312.35
Income $300 or under $400 . .	545	72.59	23.20	4.41	38.94	62.52	201.66	186.85	388.51
Income $400 or under $500 . .	1676	86.54	25.83	5.20	53.10	76.91	247.58	218.46	466.04
Income $500 or under $600 . .	2264	99.55	27.46	6.05	64.69	92.99	290.74	249.28	540.02
Income $600 or under $700 . .	2336	113.03	28.45	6.82	78.76	118.59	345.65	265.93	611.58
Income $700 or under $800 . .	2094	125.82	28.72	7.78	93.52	149.78	405.62	287.03	692.65
Income $800 or under $900 . .	806	131.51	29.83	8.47	104.58	177.39	451.78	318.80	770.58
Income $900 or under $1000 .	684	143.53	31.44	9.08	117.10	189.45	490.60	325.66	816.26
Income $1000 or under $1100 .	340	157.74	33.95	10.39	135.50	213.16	550.74	349.00	899.74
Income $1100 or under $1200 .	96	161.42	35.35	10.55	144.89	254.22	606.43	366.66	973.09
Income $1200 or over	168	183.08	40.54	12.44	165.44	267.32	668.82	383.64	1052.46
Total	11,156	111.97	28.20	6.92	79.98	124.26	351.33	266.47	617.80

* 18th An. Rept. U. S. Bu. of Labor, p. 558.

is, families having the husband at work; a wife; not more than five children and none over 14 years of age; no dependent, boarder, lodger, or servant; and expenditures for rent, fuel, lighting, food, clothing, and sundries.

Table XXXV. shows the expenditure per family for various purposes, by classified income.

Translating the table into per cents, a comparison of the per cent expended for each purpose according to the size of the family income can easily be made in the following table: —

TABLE XXXVI.

PER CENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN 11,156 NORMAL FAMILIES, BY CLASSIFIED INCOME.

CLASSIFIED INCOME.	RENT.	FUEL.	LIGHTING.	FOOD.	CLOTHING.	SUNDRIES.	TOTAL.
Under $200	16.93	6.69	1.27	50.85	8.68	15.58	100.0
$200 or under $300 . . .	18.02	6.09	1.13	47.33	8.66	18.77	100.0
$300 or under $400 . . .	18.69	5.97	1.14	48.09	10.02	16.09	100.0
$400 or under $500 . . .	18.57	5.54	1.12	46.88	11.39	16.50	100.0
$500 or under $600 . . .	18.43	5.09	1.12	46.16	11.98	17.22	100.0
$600 or under $700 . . .	18.48	4.65	1.12	43.48	12.88	19.39	100.0
$700 or under $800 . . .	18.17	4.14	1.12	41.44	13.50	21.63	100.0
$800 or under $900 . . .	17.07	3.87	1.10	41.37	13.57	23.02	100.0
$900 or under $1000 . . .	17.58	3.85	1.11	39.90	14.35	23.21	100.0
$1000 or under $1100 . . .	17.53	3.77	1.16	38.79	15.06	23.69	100.0
$1100 or under $1200 . . .	16.59	3.63	1.08	37.68	14.89	26.13	100.0
$1200 or over	17.40	3.85	1.18	36.45	15.72	25.40	100.0
Total	18.12	4.57	1.12	43.13	12.95	20.11	100.0

A study of these percentages shows that all of the economic propositions laid down by Dr. Engel, the German statistician, in 1857, which have been a standard of comparison ever since, do not hold for American families.

Dr. Engel's propositions were: —

First. — That the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence.

Second. — That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income.

Third. — That the percentage for lodging or rent and for fuel and lighting, is invariably the same, whatever the income.

Fourth. — That as the income increases in amount, the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater.

The first and the fourth are confirmed in the United States, for the per cent for food falls from 50 to 36, as income increases, and for sundries rises from 15 to 25; but the second does not hold, for the expenditure for clothing rises with income from 8 to 15 per cent. The third appears to be only partially true, for the percentage of rent only varies slightly as the income rises and that for lighting even less, while the expenditure for fuel falls from 6.69 to 3.85 per cent.

Setting aside for the present the question of whether the lower grades of income are sufficient to maintain even physical efficiency, we notice that the surplus income over necessities in the higher grades is spent chiefly in clothing and sundries. It must be remembered that the clothing expenditure is for two adults and from two to five children; and that "sundries" includes savings and all outlay for sickness, insurance, dues, church, charity, equipment, education, and pleasure. Table XXXVII. shows the average expenditure for these purposes for 2567 families reporting in detail.

Scanning these expenditures in detail and measuring them by the American idea of decency, it does not seem that those families had too much to eat and to wear or too many luxuries. Certainly 16.7 cents per day per person for food is not overfeeding, even if 3.31 of those persons are not adults. Professor Jaffa, investigating the food standards of three groups of Chinese in California, measured them by Professor Atwater's standard for a man at moderate work, and concluded that they were just sufficiently fed on 18 to 21 cents per person per day. If

TABLE XXXVII.

Average Expenditure of 2567 Families*

Having an Average Income of $827.19 for an Average Family of 5.31 Persons. (1901.)

Expenditure for	Average.	Per Cent of Total Expenditure.	Expenditure for Sundries in Detail.	Average.	Per Cent of Total Expenditure.
Food	$326.90	42.54	Furniture and Utensils	$26.31	3.42
Rent	99.49	12.95	Insurance, Life and Property	20.97	2.73
Fuel	32.23	4.19	Sickness and Death	20.54	2.67
Lighting	8.15	1.06	Liquor	12.44	1.62
Clothing:	107.84	14.06	Tobacco	10.93	1.42
Husband 33.73			Amusements and Vacation	12.28	1.60
Wife 26.03			Mortgages and Interest on Home	12.13	1.58
Children 48.08			Labor and Other Organization Fees	9.05	1.17
Sundries	193.93	25.22	Books and Papers	8.35	1.09
Total	$768.54	100.00	Religious Purposes	7.62	.99
			Taxes	5.79	.75
			Charity	2.39	.31
			Other Purposes	45.13	5.87

* 18th An. Rep. Bu. of Labor, p. 648.

$193.93 seems at first sight an ample amount for sundries, a consideration of the separate items certainly dispels the idea. For instance, $20.54 for sickness and death must include the expense of child-bearing, of accidents, — to which laborers are especially liable, — and of children's diseases, — to which the workingman's children are frequently exposed. Even with the recourse of free clinics and dispensaries, this amount would scarcely cover a single case of serious illness in the year, much less provide for good nursing or food and care to restore a wage-earner to efficient condition. Nor does $12.28 seem an undue amount to spend in a year for the recreation of five persons; even if liquor and tobacco, for which $23.37 on the average is expended per year, be included as the "recreation" of the man, it leaves only $2.85 apiece for the amusements and vacation of the rest of the family. The category of "Other Purposes" — $45.13 — must include car fares, which, as we shall see from other studies, varies in New York City from $14.00 to $18.84 per family, dentistry, tools, education, and "spending money," — in short, all the miscellaneous expenses of the family.

In comparison with the 9062 families in Table XXXV., p. 162, whose incomes were less than $800, these 2567 families must be relatively well off, yet nearly one-fifth of them had a deficit in the year 1901. Table XXXVIII. shows how some of them met it.

It appears that more than half of the 507 families having a deficit were in debt. The showing of the families in Table XXXV. is even less favorable, for, of 25,440 reporting on this subject, almost one-sixth had an average deficit of $65.68 each, and a third just came out even.

The most intensive study yet made of the standards and cost of living in this country is that by Mrs. More, of Greenwich Settlement House, New York City. It presents a detail picture of the conditions of life of 200 families in the

TABLE XXXVIII.

Surplus or Deficit of 2567 Families

Having an Average Income of $827.19 and an Average Family of 5.31 Persons.

Having a Surplus	1559	
Having neither Surplus nor Deficit	482	
Having Deficit but Making Payment on Owned House	19	
Having Deficit	507	
Manner of Meeting Deficit:		
Obtained Credit		244
From Former Savings		94
Mortgage on Real Estate or Furniture		3
Borrowed Money		13
Other Methods		3
Not Reported		150
Total	2567	507

years 1903–1905, in a city where the struggle for existence is most intense, and it has the merit of an unusual degree of critical thoroughness because of the investigator's friendly relations with the neighborhood. Professor Franklin H. Giddings has pointed out that whatever error is involved in this study is necessarily an error of under- rather than over-statement, since the 200 families making up the final list were those able and cordially willing to coöperate with Mrs. More; they were, therefore, in point of intelligence and character, somewhat above the average of the class in which their economic lot was cast.[1]

As in all such studies, by far the most valuable portion of the work is the comment upon the statistical tables, which, in this case, shows a rarely sympathetic and judicial attitude of mind. Only the briefest summaries can be reproduced here for the purpose of ascertaining the conditions of poverty which tend to produce dependence. The income and expenses of these 200 families are shown in Table XXXIX.

[1] Preface by Professor Giddings, pp. iii–v.

TABLE XXXIX.

AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURES ACCORDING TO CLASSIFIED INCOMES. *

INCOME.	TOTAL FAMILIES.	AVERAGE SIZE.	AVERAGE INCOME.	AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY FOR							
				Food.	Rent.	Cloth-ing.	Light and Fuel.	Insur-ance.	Sundries.	Total Expendi-ture.	Average Surplus or Deficit.
$200–$400	11	4.2	$344.09	$158.14	$109.07	$26.10	$23.45	$17.14 *	$23.83	$357.73	– 13.64
400– 500	16	4.7	454.97	205.28	119.94	43.13 *	28.75	20.72 *	45.10	462.92	– 7.95
500– 600	16	5.2	549.88	280.79	125.16	47.44 *	33.77	17.74 *	55.10	560.00	– 10.12
600– 700	29	5.1	651.14	299.06	142.55	59.16 *	37.36	30.04 *	88.78	656.95	– 5.81
700– 800	27	5.3	746.78	326.63	156.81	68.27 *	47.52	36.34 *	103.84	739.41	7.37
800– 900	25	5.9	836.80	380.36	154.89	85.55 *	44.51	26.10 *	139.87	831.28	5.52
900–1000	19	6.2	946.58	433.14	165.89	88.43 *	45.50	43.81	167.80	944.57	2.01
1000–1200	28	6.0	1064.11	456.20	180.72	113.04 *	47.39	37.53 *	211.30	1046.18	17.93
1200–1500	18	7.2	1325.41	510.19	231.89	146.33 *	57.73	47.48 *	296.18	1289.80	35.61
1500+	11	6.1	1710.09	543.64	245.84	252.51 *	47.63	38.61 *	389.59	1517.82	192.27
	200	5.6	$851.38	$363.42	$162.26	$88.45 *	$42.46	$32.35 *	$147.31	$836.25	$15.13

* More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 55.

This summary shows that as the income increases the size of the family increases also, and that *all* expenditures for *all* purposes increase as the income increases, the family becoming larger at the same time. It shows further that the *deficit* natural to the group of smallest incomes, having an average of $344.09 for 4.2 persons in the family, decreases quite steadily until the group having an average income of $746.78 is reached, in which the size of the family has only increased to 5.3; then there begins to be a surplus, which remains a surplus, though not a regularly increasing one, until the income is between $1000 and $1200, from which point it increases rapidly. The point of most importance to be noted is the constant interdependence of the size of the family and the income, and of the resulting surplus or deficit.[1] The summary shows also the total results of the entire investigation. The total average income is $851.38, of which $836.25 was expended, leaving a surplus of only $15.13, unless the amount paid for insurance — $32.25 — be added, which is considered by the people a form of savings.

The income and expenditure of these families by nativity of the chief wage-earner is shown in Table XL. (p. 170).

Some interesting racial comparisons are suggested by this table, which shows that 52.5 per cent of the 200 families were native and 47.5 per cent foreign born. The foreign families had the largest average income, $889.81, as compared with $816.61 for the native, and the largest families, 6 persons as against 5.3 persons for the native. Making allowance for this, the foreigners still have the larger income and the larger surplus. Omitting the nationalities having only 1 to 4 families, it is noticeable that the Irish have the largest per cent of income expended and the largest average deficit, while the German and Italian families were the most

[1] More, pp. 60–61, a digest rather than full quotation of the most striking conclusions.

TABLE XL.

SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES IN 200 FAMILIES BY THE NATIVITY OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

	TOTAL FAMILIES.	AVERAGE INCOME.	TOTAL EXPENDITURES.	AVERAGE SURPLUS OR DEFICIT.	AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY.
United States . . .	105	$816.61	$804.15	$12.46	5.3
Ireland	35	852.83	867.22	— 14.39	6.4
England	15	927.80	929.20	— 1.40	5.9
Germany	17	1032.14	982.43	49.71	5.9
Italy	15	846.80	841.05	5.75	6.6
France	4	558.50	554.75	3.75	4.0
Norway and Sweden	4	1171.75	854.25	317.50	3.5
Switzerland . . .	2	792.00	774.50	17.50	5.0
Austria	1	731.00	731.00	0.00	6.0
Scotland	1	832.00	832.00	0.00	8.0
Cuba	1	450.00	460.00	— 10.00	4.0
Total Foreign .	95	$889.81	$871.74	$18.07	6.0
Total U. S. and Foreign	200	$851.38	$836.25	$15.13	5.6

provident. The English families were scarcely able to keep out of debt and saved nothing, although the deficit is owing to the exceptional circumstance of three deaths in one family.[1] The contrast between the Irish and Germans is especially striking, as shown by the comparison on page 171.

The Irish families spent more for food, light and fuel, clothing, and sundries and had a deficit, and the German families spent more for rent and insurance and saved $30.

There were only 23 families out of the 200 where the father's earnings were the sole source of income. Of the total average income of $851.88, 63.5 per cent came from

[1] More, pp. 66–74.

TABLE XLI.*

Income and Expenditures of Irish and German Families.

Nativity.	Average Income.	Size.	Expenditure for						Total Expenditure.	Surplus or Deficit.
			Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Light and Fuel.	Insurance.	Sundries.		
Irish . .	$1088.83	7.7%	$539.83	$164.17	$110.20	$53.20	$34.23	$196.37	$1098.00	— $9.17
German	1064.75	6.5%	518.70	199.50	105.25	46.92	47.00	117.38	1034.75	+ 30.00

* More, p. 74.

the husbands' labor, 9.4 per cent from that of the wives, 11.5 per cent from the children, 9.2 per cent from boarders or lodgers, and 6.4 per cent from other sources. It is customary for the wage-earning children over 14 to give all they earn to the mother, the boys until they are 18 years old and the girls until 21, after which they pay board and keep the rest for themselves. On the whole the husbands furnish the greater part of the income, but the amounts from the other members of the family is surprisingly large. On the effect of this system Mrs. More says: —

"The popular impression, outside the working class, seems to be that the entire income of the workingman's family is from the earnings of the head of the family. This implies that if the head of the family is an unskilled day laborer, the income of his family is of that grade. On the contrary, some of the largest incomes in this study are of this class. The fact is there are comparatively few families of wage-earners who are entirely dependent on the earnings of the head of the family. This may be true in families where there are several young children, and the wife's strength is needed at home, but even then it is surprising how frequently other sources of income are added, such as gifts from friends, from employers at Christmas, presents of clothing for the children, help from relatives or churches and charitable societies in the poorer families, etc. As the children grow older and require less care at home, the mother takes in sewing or goes out washing, secures a janitor's place, cleans offices, and does whatever she can to increase the weekly income. She feels this to be her duty, and often it is necessary, but frequently it has a disastrous effect on the ambition of the husband. As soon as he sees that his wife can help support the family, his interest and sense of responsibility are likely to lessen, and he works irregularly or spends more on himself. There are, of course, many families in which this united income is needed when the man's illness or incapacity makes it imperative for the wife to help. Sometimes it is due to thrift and an ambition to save money for the future or for some definite purpose. Charitable societies generally deplore the prevalence of this custom because of its economic and moral results on the head of the family."

Table XLII. shows the financial condition of the 200 families at the end of the year.

TABLE XLII.

Surplus or Deficit, 200 Families.

(*More, p. 108.*)

Total Families.	No. of Families Reporting.			Average Surplus.	Average Deficit.	Average Surplus for 200 Families.
	Surplus.	Deficit.	Neither Surplus nor Deficit.			
200	47	55	98	$104.37	$34.18	$15.13

Only 47 families had a surplus at the end of the year, leaving 153, of whom 55 had a deficit and 98 just made ends meet.

Among the 200 families, 27 were technically dependent; that is, they had received aid during the year from an organized charity. Concerning the difficulty of deciding just what families were in this class, Mrs. More says: —

"Almost every family of small income received some help or other from friends or relatives in the shape of clothing for the children, money for the rent, or occasional gifts to carry the family over a tight place. In the entire number investigated there were over sixty instances discovered of this fraternal helpfulness. To each of these families personal friends or relatives had given from $5 to $150 in money or clothing. Frequently, were it not for their friends, these families would have been obliged to go to some organized charity for aid, but as they did not, they cannot properly be classed as dependents, according to our definition of dependency. In addition to gifts from more prosperous parents, relatives, sons away from home, and friends, this assistance often came in the form of small legacies, gifts from former employers, Christmas gifts from landlords and present employers, allowances from sick-benefit societies, gifts to the children from their godparents, and so on. Assistance of this nature cannot be considered as making the recipients dependent. All these families did not ask for aid, but it was voluntarily given by a church, settlement, or district worker who knew the needs of the family." [1]

1 "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 117.

Omitting two families whose circumstances were exceptional, the facts in regard to average income, expenditure, deficit, and aid given are shown in Table XLIII. for 25 families.

The causes of dependency were illness in 6 cases and death in 6 cases, drink a principal cause in 5 and contributory in 5 others, unemployment in 3 — "generally due to intemperance." Estimated by the unit-method,[1] sickness and death accounted for 42 per cent and drink and unemployment for 40 per cent of all cases. In addition, the size of the family and the fact that few of the children were of wage-earning age was contributory in familes having medium incomes. Among the 36 children in the 7 families having incomes over $600, only 5 were old enough to contribute to the family income. This is strikingly in agreement with Miss Brandt's analysis of 1527 Charity Organization Society cases in 1905.[2] The largest family had also the largest income and the largest deficit. Mrs. More says of it: —

"This family of 10 is the most completely pauperized one in the study. Owing to a most irregular income and a large family under 14 years of age, with only two wage-earners, the father and one son (one or the other of whom was generally out of work), this family received charity from whatever source it could be obtained. As its character was well known to charitable societies, they gave relief only in small amounts which we have estimated at $36 a year. In addition to this, the woman's parents sent them $55 and even with this outside aid the debts of the butcher, grocer, etc., amounted to $75. This is a striking example of a truly dependent family in spite of a fair-sized income. The causes of dependency were a large family under working age, lack of ambition and perseverance on the part of the father, which resulted in irregular and infrequent employment and unsteady income. The wife was a good manager, but was handicapped by such an irregular income." [3]

The relation between dependence and income and ex-

[1] See p. 44, *ante*.

[2] See p. 155, *ante*.

[3] "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 119.

TABLE XLIII.

Comparisons of Incomes and Expenditures of Dependent Families, with Averages for all Families by Classified Incomes.*

25 Dependent Families — Income under $900.

Income.	Number of Families.	Size of Families.	Average Income.	Average Aid Given.	Average Expenditure for						Total Expenditure.	Surplus or Deficit.
					Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Light and Fuel.	Insurance.	Sundries.		
$200–$400	7	4.4	$337.00	$39.29	$158.72	$108.39	$24.44	$24.62	$19.13	$20.27	$355.57	– $18.57
400– 500	6	6.3	435.41	34.17	186.83	121.17	49.00	27.57	26.52	31.74	442.83	– 7.42
500– 600	7	6.1	545.57	42.72	291.57	126.93	47.43	31.20	14.34	56.38	567.86	– 22.29
600– 700	4	6.2	658.50	41.50	318.50	146.12	47.50	37.70	20.45	100.98	671.25	– 12.75
800– 900	1	10.0	810.00	36.00	416.00	138.00	175.00	48.00	. .	108.00	885.00	– 75.00
Total below $600 . .	20	5.6	439.52	38.95	213.65	118.72	39.85	27.81	19.67*	36.35	456.05	– 16.53
Total below $900 . .	25	5.9	489.38	39.24	238.52	123.87	46.48	30.20	19.01*	49.56	507.64	– 18.26

* More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 121.

penditure of dependent and independent families having incomes under $600 and under $900 is shown in Table XLIV.

From this comparative table Mrs. More concludes: (1) in dependent families, the families are larger and the income smaller; (2) while their expenditures are smaller for the various purposes named, their deficits are larger, showing careful management and justifying the receipt of charity; (3) the averages of the expenditures of the 23 so-called independent poor families having incomes under $600 (11 of whom had received aid from friends and relatives) represents a fair average minimum expenditure for existence in New York City without receiving charity aid. But, she adds: —

"The writer does not consider these expenditures sufficient to maintain physical efficiency with the present cost of living in this city, for each one of these families suffered moral and physical deterioration, and some of them are in a state of disintegration which must prove fatal to the family group unless conditions change and a larger and steadier income is possible in the immediate future. The average size of these families was 4.1. Families of 2 or 3 with wonderful management might live on this income without going to pieces, but it does not seem possible for families of 4 or over. How much worse is the condition of the dependent families in this group. Even with the help received, they tried to support an average family of 5.6 on an average income of $439.52. Their expenditures for the necessaries of life fell below the normal standard of other poor families, and even then they were burdened with a deficit of $16.53. The statistics of dependent families and of all those having incomes of less than $600 a year show how inadequate such incomes are to support families of average size without assistance or without indebtedness."[1]

The third study, also of conditions in New York City, made by the Committee on Standard of Living of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1907, covers a larger number of families than Mrs. More's. It was made, however, by interviewers among scattered families, and

[1] "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 124.

TABLE XLIV.

Comparison of Dependent and Independent Families.

Incomes under $600.

	Number of Families.	Average Size.	Average Income.	Average Expenditure for —						Total Expenditure.	Surplus or Deficit.
				Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Light and Fuel.	Insurance.	Sundries.		
Dependent Families .	20	5.6	$439.52	$213.65	$118.72	$39.85	$27.81	$19.67 *	$36.35	$456.05	− $16.53
Independent Families †	23	4.1	481.39	227.99	119.52	40.82	30.53	17.76 *	49.49	486.11	− 4.72
Total for All Families	43	4.8	$461.92	$221.32	$119.10	$40.37	$29.27	$18.69 *	$43.38	$472.13	− $10.21
Incomes under $900.											
Dependent Families .	25	5.9	$489.38	$238.52	$123.87	$46.48	$30.20	$19.01 *	$49.56	$507.64	− $18.26
Independent Families †	99	5.0	682.77	308.63	144.09	63.35	40.23	28.62 *	95.97	680.89	− 1.88
Total for All Families	124	5.2	$643.78	$294.49	$140.91	$59.95	$38.21	$26.68 *	$86.62	$645.96	− $2.18

* Not all families carried insurance.

† Those families who have received no assistance from an organized charity.

lacks, on the one hand, the breadth of view of the Bureau of Labor inquiry and, on the other, the intimate personal knowledge shown in Mrs. More's investigation. The preliminary report — which is all that is yet available — is of distinct value, nevertheless, and is in several important points directly comparable with the others. The Committee states that very early in the inquiry it was decided to limit the schedules to a family of five persons — "husband, wife, and three children under working age" — with an income over $600 and under $1000. The schedules showing incomes from $300 to $600 were thrown out because they indicated that these families had an exceptionally low standard of living and were not independent of outside assistance. Table XLV. summarizes the results for 230 "normal" families in Greater New York.

Group I., having the lowest income and a deficit, expended 22½ cents per day per man for food and $13 per month for rent. For this they can obtain in Manhattan from 2 to 3 rooms, — "low and comparatively small and one room with no window to the outer air or none at all," — without bathing or toilet facilities. They spend $91 a year for clothing and washing materials, and one-third of them received gifts of clothing from relatives, churches, or charities — "if more clothing is desired, it must be purchased on the instalment plan or by cutting down the other important items in the budget, particularly food."

Only $11 is expended for sickness, and if illness lasts any length of time the family runs into debt; $5 for education, — chiefly the daily newspaper, — 50 cents to $1 for postage and school supplies, nothing for books. Whenever there are any savings at all, it is due to exceptionally favorable conditions. The conclusion of the Committee as to this group may be stated in its own words: —

"The Committee is of the opinion that an income between $600–700 per annum is insufficient for a family of five to maintain a

TABLE XLV.

COST OF LIVING OF 230 FAMILIES IN GREATER NEW YORK.* (1907.)

FIVE PERSONS IN FAMILY — HUSBAND, WIFE, 3 CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE.	GROUP I. $600 – $700.		GROUP II. $700 – $800.		GROUP III. $800 – $900.	
Average income	$650.00		$746.00		$845.00	
No. of families	76		83		71	
EXPENDITURE FOR	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.
Food	$288.00	43.9	$342.00	45.8	$367.00	45.4
Rent	154.00	23.5	156.00	20.9	167.00	20.7
Clothing . .	91.00	13.9	102.00	13.6	112.00	13.8
Light and Fuel	35.00	5.3	37.00	4.9	39.00	4.8
Insurance . .	18.00	2.7	19.00	2.5	19.00	2.5
Sundries . . .	70.00	10.7	90.00	12.0	103.00	12.7
Total Expended	$656.00	100.0	$746.00	100.0	$807.00	100.0
Deficit or Surplus . . .	— 6.		±		+ 38.	

* Preliminary Report, p. 12.

proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan. Leaving aside the exceptions, it is apparent that on an income of $600–700 many families in Manhattan have a fierce struggle for existence. The maximum of food purchases approximates the minimum set up by authorities on this subject. The narrowest margin is allowed for other essentials. No provision can be made for accident or emergency. If either of these occur, the family runs into debt. Were it not for the charity of friends, relatives, employers, or philanthropic organizations, the expenditure of the family would be, and frequently is, larger than the income.

"Such a family literally lives a hand-to-mouth existence, with neither opportunity nor means for enjoyment or recreation. It can make no provision for repairs to equipment. The health of its members cannot

be safe-guarded from its own resources. The housing accommodations barely prevent crowding. *It requires no citation of elaborate statistics to bring convincing proof that $600–$700 is wholly inadequate to maintain a proper standard of living, and no self-respecting family should be asked or expected to live on such an income.*"[1]

Without discussing the situation of Group II. and Group III. in detail, we may quote the Committee's conclusions:[2]

"Group II. — *The Committee believes that with an income of $700–$800* a family can barely support itself, provided that it is subject to no extraordinary expenditures by reason of sickness, death, or other untoward circumstances. Such a family can live without charitable assistance through exceptional management and in the absence of emergencies.

"Group III. — In view of all these facts, the Committee is of the opinion that it is fairly conservative in its estimate that $825 is sufficient for the average family of 5 individuals, comprising the father, mother, and 3 children under 14 years of age to maintain a fairly proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan. The extent to which this would be changed in other boroughs of Greater New York would be measured largely by the item of rent and not by the other items in the budget."

In Table XLVI. the results of the three American investigations are summarized for the class whose incomes ranged from $800 to $900. This is the group called "representative" by Mrs. More, and whose income is believed by the Special Committee to be sufficient to maintain a "fairly proper" standard of living in New York City.

The uniformity of the three studies on almost every item of expenditure is remarkable; for the food of 5 to 5.6 persons the expenditure was $326–$367; that is, from 42 to 45 per cent of the total income. The outlay for rent was $162 to $167 in New York, — about 20 per cent of income, — but from $99 to $131, or only 13 to 16 per cent of income, in the United States at large. Clothing ranged from $88 to $112 for a family, that is, from 10 to 14 per cent of income; fuel

[1] Preliminary Report, pp. 17–18.

[2] Preliminary Report, p. 20.

TABLE XLVI.

Comparison of Three American Studies of Income and Expenditure.

	200 Families in N. Y. City.* (More.)		230 Families in N. Y. City, 1907.† (Spec. Com.)		U. S. Dept. of Labor for 2567 Families.‡		U. S. Dept. of Labor for 175 "Normal" Families.‡	
Average income . . .	$851.38		$845.00		$827.19		$800–$900	
Size of family	5.6		5.00		5.31		5	
Average Expenditure for	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.	Amount.	Per Cent.
Food	$363.42	43.4	$367.00	45.4	$326.90	42.54	$338.13	42.8
Rent	162.26	19.4	167.00	20.7	99.49	12.95	131.61	16.66
Clothing	88.45	10.6	112.00	13.8	107.84	14.04	106.20	13.45
Fuel and Light	42.46	5.1	39.00	4.8	40.38	5.25	38.28	4.84
Insurance (life)	32.35	3.9	19.00	2.4	19.44	2.53	175.78	22.25
Sundries	147.31	17.6	103.00	12.7	179.49	22.69		
Total Expenditures . .	$836.25	100.0	$807.00	100.0	$768.54	100.0	$790.00	100.00

* More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 258.

† Prelim. Rept. Spec. Com. N. Y. Conf. of C. and C., p. 12.

‡ 18th An. Rep. U. S. Com. of Labor, pp. 582–584.

and light scarcely varied from 5 per cent. Insurance and sundries together ranged from $122 (family of 5 only) to $179 and $198 in groups with slightly larger families. In the 230 New York families whose insurance and sundries amounted to only $122, it will be noticed that there is a correspondingly higher expenditure for clothing and food. Aside from this slight variation, there is no other which is not explained by the higher cost of living in New York City.

In Table XLVII. the results of the three inquiries are summarized by incomes. It must be remembered that Mrs. More's families averaged 5.6 persons, while the others are the "normal" families of 2 adults and 3 children under 14 years of age.

The summary table shows that with incomes less than $600 from two-thirds to three-fourths of the total must be spent for food and rent alone, and this means, according to the New York observers, that these families are underfed, poorly clothed, and wretchedly housed, if they succeed in remaining independent; or that they must receive assistance from their friends and intermittently from charitable societies. The second group, having incomes from $600 to $900, spent 41 to 45 per cent for food and 17 to 23 per cent for rent; the bare necessities of life — food, shelter, clothing, warmth, and light — took 80 to 85 per cent of the entire income. If these remain independent, it can only be through escaping all emergency demands, doing without all comforts and pleasures, and having no savings, — in short they are constantly on the verge of dependence. Until the grade of $800 to $900 is reached, there is no margin left for thrift, education, and pleasure, and even then the margin will be small unless the income is very carefully expended. From these studies, the principle may be tentatively established that whenever the expenditures for the bare necessities of life — food, housing, clothing, light and fuel —

TABLE XLVII.

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURES FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN NEW YORK FAMILIES AND 11,156 "NORMAL" FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

INCOME.	FOOD.			RENT.			CLOTHING.*			LIGHT AND FUEL.			SUNDRIES.†		
	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Com.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Com.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Com.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Com.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Com.)	U.S.
Under $200 .	..	..	50.8	..	..	16.9	..	..	8.6	..	..	7.9	..	..	15.5
$200–300	44.2	..	47.3	30.5	..	18.0	7.3	..	8.6	6.5	..	7.2	11.5	..	18.7
300–400 .			48.0			18.6			10.0			7.1			16.0
400–500 . .	44.4	..	46.8	25.9	..	18.5	9.3	..	11.3	6.2	..	6.6	14.2	..	16.5
500–600 . .	50.1	..	46.1	22.4	..	18.4	8.5	..	11.9	6.0	..	6.2	13.0	..	17.2
600–700 . .	45.5	43.9	43.4	21.7	23.5	18.4	9.0	13.9	12.8	5.7	5.3	5.7	18.1	..	19.3
700–800 . .	44.2	45.8	41.4	21.2	20.9	18.1	9.2	13.6	13.5	6.4	4.9	5.2	19.0	13.4	21.6
800–900 . .	45.8	45.4	41.3	18.6	20.7	17.0	10.3	13.8	13.5	5.4	4.8	4.9	19.9	14.5	23.0
900–1000 .	45.8	..	39.9	17.6	..	17.5	9.4	..	14.3	4.8	..	4.9	22.4	15.1	23.2
1000–1100	43.6	..	38.7	17.3	..	17.5	10.8	..	15.0	4.5	..	4.9	23.8	..	23.6
1100–1200 .			37.6			16.5			14.8			4.7		..	26.1
1200–1500	39.5	..	36.4	18.0	..	17.4	11.3	..	15.7	4.5	..	5.03	26.7	..	25.4
1500 or over	35.8			16.2			16.6			3.2	..		28.2	..	
Total . .	43.4	45.0	43.1	19.4	21.7	18.1	10.06	13.7	12.9	5.1	5.0	5.6	21.5	14.9	20.1

* Partial clothing for New York families.

† Including insurance.

take more than 80 per cent of the income, the family is on the verge of dependence.

What, then, is an adequate income for a family of five? The Special Committee concluded that $600 to $700 was totally inadequate, $700 to $800 a bare minimum efficiency income, and $825 per year just sufficient. The report of the Commissioner of Labor showed that of 25,440 families of five persons, having an average income of $749.50, one-half had a deficit or just came out even; and of 2567 selected families of 5.3 persons and $827.00 average income, 1089 either had a deficit or just came out even. Mrs. More concludes that a well-nourished family of five in a city neighborhood needs $6.00 a week for food. The total necessary expenditure on this scale would be $720.00, that is, a steady income of $14.00 per week, and if there were to be any savings the income should be $800 to $900 per year.

Just preceding the New York investigations, a number of estimates of a "fair-living wage" were made by different authorities: Robert Hunter, in 1904, set $460 as the minimum "physical efficiency" wage; the New York Bureau of Labor set the living wage at $520; John Mitchell, ex-president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Father John A. Ryan, the author of "A Living Wage," at $600; the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor at $724 for a family of five; the Maryland Bureau of Statistics $742 for a family of six in Baltimore; and Miss Caroline Goodyear at $1054 for a family of five in New York. The significant thing is that in proportion as accurate detailed information of the actual conditions of the poor is obtained the estimate of an adequate living income is steadily rising.

The primary factors in the cost of living are food and rent. Food is the elementary necessity, and the question of adequate income is primarily determined by the amount and cost of food required for proper nutrition. Not only the wage-earner's fitness for work, but the mother's fitness for

child-bearing and the children's growth and fitness for future wage-earning depend upon their being sufficiently fed. The item of food will be the first affected by any necessity for reducing expenses. On the subject of what is an adequate dietary standard there are many studies, but it is possible to mention here only the conclusions of those which refer to workingmen's families in New York City. Professor W. O. Atwater concluded from his dietary studies in New York in 1896 that a family could be sufficiently fed on 15 to 17 cents per man per day.[1] But this was in the year of lowest prices, and allowing 16 per cent for the rise in the general cost of living since then, the estimate should be not less than 17.5 to 20 cents. Measured by this standard, Mrs. More's 200 New York families spent 24.6 cents per man per day. "Assuming that Mr. Atwater's estimate is correct," Mrs. More says, "they were therefore extravagant through ignorance of dietary values and the nourishing qualities of different foods."

Miss Caroline Goodyear, in order to determine what is the minimum income which is sufficient for all the reasonable needs of dependent families in the care of the New York Charity Organization Society, made a study of the dietary habits of tenement-house families. In the typical case of dependence — a widow with three children — she concludes that an adequate supply of food would cost per week $4.54, and that the presence of a workingman in the family would raise this estimate to $6.00 or $6.50.[2] This agrees with Mrs. More's estimate.

Shelter, unlike food and clothing, does not depend on the individual efforts of the family, but chiefly on the available tenements. Society may be said to have established the principle of a minimum standard of housing, although the

[1] Bulletin No. 46, Department of Agriculture, "Dietary Studies in New York," 1896.

[2] "*Charities*," etc., vol. xvi., 1906, pp. 191 ff.; vol. xvii., 1906, pp. 315 ff.

standard is nowhere strictly enforced.[1] According to the accepted definition of overcrowding — more than two persons in a room — only thirty-seven out of the two hundred New York families were overcrowded; yet the description of their homes given by Mrs. More shows that a much larger number were wretchedly housed. The New York Tenement-house Commission in its report for 1900 named the most serious evils in New York City: insufficient light and air, danger from fire, lack of separate toilet and washing facilities, overcrowding, and generally foul and unsanitary conditions. As a result of this report, a Tenement-house Department was created for the city of New York, which has accomplished important reforms. Although in most of the other cities in the United States there is no such tenement-house problem, yet the high death-rates — especially those of tuberculosis — indicate that unsanitary conditions of the most serious nature exist in them.[2]

The relation of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions to poverty is close and unmistakable. Charles Booth has shown that 30 per cent of the population of East London was in poverty, 31 per cent overcrowded, and that both the birth-rate and the death-rate were high in proportion to poverty and congestion. Overcrowding leads to early marriage and a high birth-rate; while unsanitary conditions and ignorance on the part of the young mother create a high death-rate among babies and young children. "All the influences (except the death-rate) on natural increase," says Mr. Booth, "have the effect of multiplying the number of the poor almost, it would seem, in proportion to their poverty, and operate in the other direction in the case of those who are better off, almost in proportion to their wealth."[3] The net increase of the very poor, owing to their high death-rate, may be no greater than that of the

[1] Devine, "Principles of Relief," Chap. V.
[2] See Bibliography for the study of housing, p. 480. [3] Final volume, p. 23.

comfortable working class, but the waste of life is terrible. If to the cost of illness and death be added the expenditure of energy in child-bearing and the withdrawal of the mother from wage-earning, the mere economic loss involved in these conditions is incalculable.

The welfare of the family depends on the physical and moral quality of the parents. Among the poor there is a very clear understanding of their relative duties. The man must find the major part of the income; and if he is "respectable," he will take pride in bringing it home and giving all but a very small portion of it to the wife. If he is an unskilled laborer he will, as a rule, be inadequately paid and irregularly employed; if poorly paid and intermittently employed, he tends to become discouraged and to fall into shiftless if not vicious habits. Concerning employment in her two hundred families Mrs. More says: —

"Employment was so irregular during these two years that wages could scarcely ever be relied upon for the entire year. Often a man worked only two or three days in a week, during the months of the slack season, and then for some weeks during the rush season made a great deal working overtime. In estimating the total income, allowance has been made for these exceptions. It was interesting to find that many men had two occupations, summer and winter; for example, oysterman and tentmaker, . . . carpenter and longshoreman, etc. Wages in certain occupations rarely rise above a certain point. One man had been truckman for one firm for thirty-two years and his wages are now only $14 per week. This is true in practically all unskilled occupations." [1]

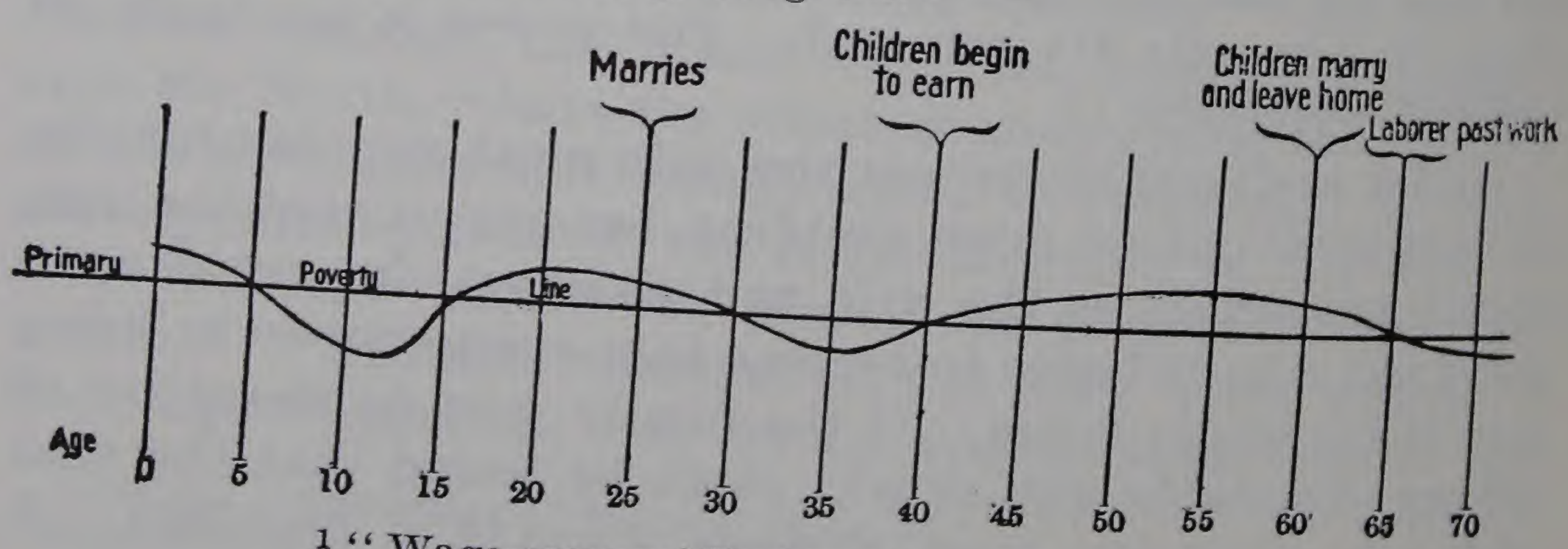
Under such circumstances the wife must supplement the income until one or more children become of working age, and in proportion as the wife and children eke out the income the man is liable to become less energetic or to bring less of his wages home. If the family gets to the point of asking charitable aid, it will often be found that the man will not stand the test of work when it is provided. A

[1] "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 135.

crude measure of the degree of poverty is the amount of rough work done by mothers outside the home and by children under sixteen years of age.

The woman's share is, everywhere among the poor, the financial management. What the family gets out of the income depends almost wholly upon her intelligence. If she goes from a factory, store, or office to her new home, she has usually had no domestic training. She will make mistakes of ignorance and extravagance, but if conscientious, she will frequently manage wonderfully well, when necessity has given her some training.[1] There is often no margin for thrift, as all the observers have pointed out, but at the same time good management goes far toward making adequate an insufficient income. Yet at what personal sacrifice of strength and health this economy of the insufficient is attained can scarcely be measured. The mother seldom goes even to a free hospital for confinement, though she may have a free physician, and she is nursed by a midwife who is willing to be paid in instalments.

A considerable number of families in any congested district in American cities are liable to fall into extreme poverty two or three times in their lives: during childhood, — if the parents are very poor, — in the prime of life, and in old age. Mr. Rowntree has expressed this fact for the city of York in the following diagram:[2] —



1 "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 265.
2 "Poverty." A Study of Town Life, p. 13.

The first drop below the poverty line is apt to occur just before the eldest children become of earning age, and while the mother is bearing other children. If the husband is underpaid or unemployed the family will be underfed, — the mother at the time when she needs good food and freedom from worry, the children at the time when their growth will suffer most. If the wife goes to work outside in order to raise the income, she injures her health under the double strain of wage-earning and child-bearing. The older children will go to work at the earliest possible age, and if not stunted by it, will lose the opportunities for education which might carry them into a higher industrial class. From the time when the children begin to earn till they marry the family will be relatively comfortable ; but shortly after they leave home, the father and mother begin to lose their efficiency through the premature old age which falls upon those who are overworked or underfed, and that at a time when the married children, with their own family burdens, are least able to help them.

One of the effects upon growing children of the life amid such vicissitudes is well described by Miss Lauderburn, District Agent of the Associated Charities of Boston, in discussing incompetence as a cause of poverty. She says: —

> "The fault is not all due to the incompetents. To a great extent it is due to environment. And it is, perhaps, due also to the very organization of society. A child with a poorly nourished body, with a bringing up lacking in ideals, set in an environment of poverty, dirt, drunkenness, compelled to leave the education of the schools and go to work when he has reached the mature age of fourteen — should a society that permits that be surprised if the boy turns out an incompetent? Surely, it is not surprising if that boy does not know how to work well, how to save, how to spend, but stumbles along through life, seeing only the thing (whether good or bad) nearest his eyes, and not seeing that very clearly — incompetent, physically, mentally, morally, to meet the difficulties of this world, and wage successfully the battle of life." [1]

[1] Twenty-fifth Annual Report Associated Charities, Boston, 1904, pp. 24–25.

The physical and mental deterioration, inevitable in the lower grades of poverty, is indicated not only by the death-rate, especially infant mortality, but also by the marked inferiority of the children in height, weight, and general physical condition. Dr. Kuborn, in discussing the maladies of English miners, says that they originate largely in the kind of life the men lead, their neglect of hygiene in their homes and person, excesses of various kinds, inadequate clothing and feeding, — "causes to which the want of education greatly contributes." [1] Moreover, the evils of poverty are cumulative: —

> "The worse fed are the children of one generation, the less they will earn when they grow up, and the less will be their power of providing adequately for the material wants of their children; and, again, the less fully their own faculties are developed, the less will they realize the importance of developing the faculties of their children and the less will be their power of doing so. . . . The importance of a good start in life is nowhere seen more clearly than in a comparison of the futures of the sons of artisans and of unskilled workers." [2]

Nor are the effects of the moral conditions of poverty confined to the poorest class. In all these recent pictures of poverty, frequent reference is made to the generosity and mutual helpfulness of the poor. The weakness and misfortune of the poorest continually drains the resources of their more competent and prosperous neighbors. If the rent cannot be paid, the family will be taken in by their friends or relatives, who have little enough room already; and the rent will remain unpaid to the loss, not of the landlord usually, but of the sub-lessee, who is also poor. The competition of the least competent is the most injurious in the labor market, and their lower standards of decency a menace to the self-respecting poor. Thus the cost of the residuum of poverty is not merely the tax on public and private

[1] Oliver, "Dangerous Trades," p. 17.
[2] Marshall, "Principles of Economics," vol. i., p. 595.

charity, but the tax upon the wage-earners of the higher stratum.[1]

At the beginning of the study of the causes of poverty the personal causes, as we have seen, were chiefly emphasized. As relief became systematized and the case-counting method of study was adopted, the causes which stood out most conspicuously in a definite proportion were sickness, unemployment, defects of character, and lack of normal support. And finally in the pictorial studies of poverty we find that the chief causes of dependency are illness and death of the chief wage-earner, irregularity of work due to industrial conditions or drink and incapacity, low wages, and large families on small incomes with few children of wage-earning age. In so far as the immediate causes are concerned the results of the descriptive method are not fundamentally different from those of case-counting, but its value lies in that it goes farther and deeper. The intensive study shows the associated conditions of poverty and raises the larger questions: To what extent has society a right to reap the benefit of methods of production, and of a scale of wages which involve the inevitable degradation of a section of the population? How far should human character be expected to withstand the corrosion of hardships and discouragement? Has not society the charitable burden which it deserves?

Setting aside the fundamental economic and industrial questions with which, however vital, this chapter is not concerned, the study of the causes of poverty has arrived at the immediate problem of the determination of the standard of living for the localities in which relief is to be given. Philanthropic workers are generally agreed that a living income must include not merely the necessaries of life for maintaining physical efficiency, but something for sickness,

[1] Bosanquet, "Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 97; Booth, final volume, pp. 206–209.

for pleasure, and for emergencies and savings. What this amount will be in a given community will depend not only on the cost of necessities, but upon the intelligence and ideals of the family itself. The standard of living must be established not on the low plane of life to which the family has been driven by stress of circumstances, but on a level of physical and social efficiency for the present and the future. If such an ideal as this be set, it is evident that the charity standard of adequate relief must be considerably raised. Niggardly and superficial relief may save from desperate misery those who have already fallen below the line, but it can never prevent the helpless young from being drawn into the chasm after them. The larger charity goes farther than relief, and finds its consummation in the abolition of the causes of poverty and ultimately, we hope, of poverty itself.

Professor Simon N. Patten has expressed that hope in a prophecy: —

"Our children's children may learn with amazement how we thought it a natural social phenomenon that men should die in their prime, leaving wives and children in terror of want; that accidents should make an army of maimed dependents; that there should not be enough houses for workers; and that epidemics should sweep away multitudes as autumn frost sweeps away summer insects. They will wonder that the universal sadness of such a world should have appealed to our transient sympathies, but did not absorb our widest interests. They will ask why there was some hope of succor for those whose miseries passed for a moment before the eyes of the tender-hearted, but none for the dwellers beyond the narrow horizon within which pity moves. And they will be unable to put themselves in our places, because the new social philosophy, which we are this moment framing, will have so moulded their minds that they cannot return to the philosophy that moulds ours."

PART II.

THE DEPENDENT CLASSES.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE ALMSHOUSE AND ITS INMATES.

The almshouse is the fundamental institution in American poor-relief. It cares for all the abjectly destitute not otherwise provided for. Outdoor relief, although preceding it in point of time, is the resort of those who still, nominally at least, need only temporary assistance or partial support at home.[1] Since the almshouse is the guarantee against starvation which the State offers to all, no matter how unfortunate or degraded, its inmates are often the most sodden driftwood from the social wreckage of the time. It is ordinarily a depressing experience to visit an almshouse, and accordingly we find it an institution that even the benevolent willingly forget. In many of the country almshouses no clergyman comes the year round; and no friendly visitor appears to encourage the superintendent to be faithful, or to bring to light abuses that may exist. Yet, since the institution is so fundamental, and since the number of its inmates is necessarily considerable, it may be doubted whether a more profitable work can easily be found than the right organization and proper management of almshouses. The benevolent too frequently hurry away to make excellent provision for special classes, leaving to the malad-

[1] For slightly different view see Devine, "Principles of Relief," p. 282.

ministration of the local almshouse a large assortment of destitute people under evil conditions.[1]

In New England, except New Hampshire, where there are both county and town institutions, the town (township) is the local political unit to which the care of the poor is intrusted, and the almshouse is accordingly managed by the town officers. In the other States the almshouse is usually a county institution. It is not uncommon for several townships or counties to form themselves into an association, and establish what is called a district almshouse.

The tendency since 1890, especially in States where the town system of control prevails, is more toward the consolidation of small almshouses than toward the building of new ones. Of the 2373 almshouses enumerated at that time, 200 have since been discontinued, while the actual growth of such institutions has been slight.[2]

In 1880 there were 66,203 inmates of almshouses in the United States, or one almshouse pauper to 758 inhabitants; in 1890 there were 73,045 almshouse inmates, or one to 857 inhabitants; in 1903 there were 81,764 almshouse inmates, or one to 920 inhabitants. The decrease in proportion to population does not necessarily indicate a general diminution of pauperism, but merely that a historical development, already in progress, has been continued.[3] When the work

[1] Many attempts have been made to avoid the stigma attaching to the almshouse by changing its name. "Almshouse" itself, although thought to be a better term than "poorhouse" or the English "workhouse," has in its turn degenerated, so that in many States the term "County Infirmary," or "County Home," is substituted. But until the disreputable classes are drafted out of it, to call it a "home" or "retreat" will no more remove the disgrace of inmateship than it will remove the "institution smell" from the suds-soaked floors of the building. The "stigma," whatever it may be, comes primarily from the average character of the inmates, and secondarily from the low-grade character and want of skill of the officers in charge.

[2] Census, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904.

[3] For fuller historical account of this movement see Devine, "Principles of Relief," Chap. II.

of relief is first begun by the newly formed political units of an American settlement, it is usual to board out such dependents as must be supported entirely. Farmers or others are paid to care for old people, for imbeciles, and even for sick persons who have no homes of their own. Chiefly with a view to providing a place for the better care of the dependent sick, especially incurable cases, and also to economy, a public almshouse is established. During the first stage of its development, it acts as the charitable catch-all for the community. Idiots, epileptics, incurables, incompetents, the aged, abandoned children, foundlings, women for confinement, and a considerable number of the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb are all dumped together into some old farmhouse that has been bought by the authorities, and put to this use. The public then goes on its way, and thinks as little about the institution as possible, only grumbling annually at the expenses perhaps, when it happens to review public accounts.

In some populous cities even yet the almshouses are hardly more than enlarged specimens of this same type. The different classes of dependents are still assembled in one great institution, and the public assumes it has discharged its whole duty by giving enough food and fuel to keep the individuals that make up the incongruous mass from hunger and cold.[1]

The next stage in institutional development has been described in the following words : —

> " When this humble home was out-grown or worn-out in the older States about the middle of the century and for a generation later, a new almshouse would be built ; and the stage exemplified by the new building may be called that of the ' imposing edifice.' The architecture of this period was from the outside in ; the building was planned for the admiration of the passers-by rather than for the comfort of the inhabitants. It was generally four or five stories high, regardless of the infirmities of its inmates ; perfectly symmetrical, though the male

[1] Ellwood, Bulletin on " Almshouses in Missouri," pp. 13–14.

population was generally two or three times the female, and in other respects planned without apparent reference to the uses to which it was to be put."[1]

A third stage, as regards architecture, entered upon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is the cottage plan, — a plan which seems to combine the advantages without the defects of the older practice. It is, concisely speaking, a group of houses, sometimes connected by passages, permitting the complete separation of the sexes, separate hospital cottages, and a central administration building. To this class belongs the New York City Farm Colony established on Staten Island as a branch of the Home for the Aged and Infirm.[2]

While this evolution of the almshouse buildings has been taking place, a much more important movement to differentiate the inmates has been developed. The classification of the inmates may be divided into two parts — the drafting out of the almshouse those who do not belong in it, and the differentiation of those that do belong in it. In the first division stand three groups which are gradually being taken over into institutions where they can receive more appropriate care. The first group includes all those requiring special scientific treatment; of these the defective classes of teachable age, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, were the first to be drafted off to educational institutions, usually supported by the State. Next an effort was made to have the State take care of the insane. This is now usually done so far as the acute insane are concerned, but the great expense of providing for the increasing numbers of the chronic insane led to a suspension of their transfer from the almshouses to specialized asylums. The State of New York, as a result of the Willard report in 1865, determined to remove all insane

[1] Clark, M. V., "The Almshouse," N. C. C., 1900, p. 156. Hibberd, *Charities Review*, vol. x., 1900, p. 515 ff., 571 ff., "The Almshouse System."
[2] Tower, E., *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xviii., 1907, p. 329.

from almshouses to State institutions, but the great expense of their transfer checked the movement, and it was thirty years before it was able to assume the exclusive care of all insane not in private hospitals.[1] In 1900 Massachusetts provided that all insane should be cared for by the State. The Commissioners of Public Charities of Illinois in 1907 made a thorough report on the conditions surrounding the insane in county almshouses.[2] Among the fifteen reasons for complete State care, they enumerate the following: —

"Because, while this General Assembly has been sitting, a girl in an Illinois almshouse has been hobbled with chains, padlocked to her bare ankles, because her stamping disturbed other inmates in the insane department.

"Because, . . . a rude box, with wooden slats across the top, supplied with iron hinges, hasps, and bolt, is ready, in a certain almshouse, to receive any insane man who becomes unruly, a service it has performed for others.

"Because, to-day there are almshouses in Illinois where steel handcuffs, barred cells, cages, and padlocks are in service when required to restrain the insane. Imagine an insane girl 20 years old locked in a steel cage! This happened recently in Stark County.

"Because, in 54 almshouses there is no provision to separate the insane from plain paupers.

"Because, any insane resident of Illinois should have just as good care as any other insane resident."

The State of Illinois is, however, no worse than a number of others in respect to abuses in almshouses. In a thorough and impartial investigation of the almshouses of Missouri, Professor Ellwood found over 1177 insane persons — about one-third of all inmates — in almshouses, and a tendency toward an increased almshouse care of the indigent lunatic.

Of the treatment of the insane he says: —

"I learned of one almshouse superintendent who declared that he found the horsewhip to be the most efficacious means of quieting in-

[1] Assembly Documents, No. 19, N. Y., 1865. Report of State Committee in Lunacy, 1889. [2] Bulletin Illinois Board of Charities, April, 1907.

sane inmates. In another, I found that an insane woman had been kept strapped in bed for over six years. According to the first annual report of the Missouri State Board of Charities, on one county poor-farm an insane man was found who had been kept in a stockade, open to the sky, winter and summer, with hardly a shred of clothing on him, for several years. According to the same report another insane man was found chained to a stump in a poorhouse yard. . . . In general, my investigation disclosed that in a majority of Missouri almshouses there are cells for their confinement; that in many cases manacles and chains were put on the insane, under which restraint they are kept for years; and that they are, if not brutally treated, grossly neglected."[1]

Professor Ellwood places the responsibility for this condition of things where it belongs, when he says that the superintendents have to manage as best they can the persons turned over to them by the county authorities, and that the blame ultimately rests with the people of the whole State, who permit by law the commitment of the indigent insane to almshouses.[2]

Many States have entered upon a policy of State care, and then failed to make appropriations large enough to carry out such a policy. The result has been that, after some State institutions were built, a large number of insane still remain in the almshouses, because the special institutions are overcrowded and can receive no more. This is practically the situation in Illinois. In California the lunacy commissioners frequently refuse to adjudge an almshouse inmate insane, because the State institutions are so overcrowded that they say he is better left in the almshouse.

The movement for State educational institutions for the feeble-minded has only recently made much headway, and the custodial care of feeble-minded adults in special institutions is attained in only a few States. The first public institution for epileptics was opened in Ohio in 1893, and since 1900 the movement to establish colonies has gained consider-

[1] Ellwood, "Almshouse Abuses," N. C. C., 1903, p. 387.
[2] Ellwood, Bulletin on "Almshouses in Missouri," 1904, pp. 9–11.

able momentum. The present proportions of the classes needing scientific treatment, who are still found in almshouses, is shown in Table XLVIII. (p. 202).

It will be seen that 10 per cent of almshouse inmates are insane and 22 per cent feeble-minded or epileptic, constituting nearly one-third of the whole institution's population, who should obviously be provided for elsewhere.

The second group requiring special care, and therefore to be removed from the almshouse, is the children. It was long ago seen that their mimetic tendencies, and the utter lack of education in the almshouse or of anything to stimulate ambition or provoke energy, guaranteed their ruin. Placing them out by the local poor-law officers gave very unsatisfactory results, as they were spoiled by the time they were old enough to work, and the class of people applying for them at the almshouse seldom wanted them for purposes other than service. There was consequently much agitation and some legislation to get children out of the almshouses, either into special institutions, public or private, or into suitable homes.

Homer Folks wrote in 1902: —

> "The delay in the removal of children from almshouses is a lamentable illustration of the slowness with which such reforms proceed. Thirty-five years have passed since Ohio enacted the first law in the United States looking toward the removal of all children from almshouses, but as yet barely a dozen States — about one-fourth of the whole number — have followed her example, and even in these States the laws are not, in all cases, fully enforced. . . . Contrary to the general opinion the States, . . . which are the worst offenders in this regard, include ten of the sixteen which comprised the Union in 1801." [1]

Mr. Folks's statement was based upon the Census returns of 1890. Table XLIX., which includes the figures from the enumeration of 1903, gives a more favorable view.

It appears that the largest proportion of children, rela-

[1] Folks, "The Care of Destitute . . . Children," pp. 72–82.

TABLE XLVIII.

DEFECTIVE PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES FOR MAIN GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1903–1904.*

DIVISION.	PER CENT.										
	Defective.	Insane.	Feeble-minded.	Epileptic.	Blind.	Deaf-mute.	Para-lytic.	Crippled, Maimed, or De-formed.	Old and Infirm.	Bed-ridden.	Rheu-matic.
Among 81,764 Paupers enumerated in Almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903.											
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.	79.0	10.3	20.2	1.7	3.6	0.8	4.7	13.6	17.4	0.9	5.8
North Atlantic	74.7	9.2	15.4	1.6	3.0	0.7	5.0	13.2	18.8	0.8	7.0
South Atlantic	80.0	7.0	29.3	2.0	4.6	1.3	4.1	11.4	15.7	0.7	3.9
North Central	84.1	13.9	23.5	1.7	3.4	0.8	4.1	13.7	17.3	0.7	5.0
South Central	81.2	13.0	27.9	2.1	5.7	0.8	3.9	11.5	11.0	1.5	3.8
Western . .	75.7	1.9	11.4	1.2	3.9	0.4	6.8	20.5	19.9	2.2	7.5
Among 81,412 Paupers admitted to Almshouses during 1904.											
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.	53.8	4.1	7.8	0.9	1.4	0.5	3.4	11.8	11.3	4.5	8.1
North Atlantic	48.4	3.8	5.1	0.8	1.2	0.2	3.4	11.5	11.6	2.5	8.3
South Atlantic	54.8	4.1	13.5	1.3	1.9	0.4	3.8	7.8	9.8	4.7	7.5
North Central	66.9	4.9	11.2	0.9	1.6	1.1	3.4	15.0	13.4	7.2	8.2
South Central	58.9	8.2	15.0	1.4	2.2	0.6	3.4	8.7	9.2	4.8	5.4
Western . .	44.7	2.0	3.6	0.7	1.0	0.2	3.1	11.1	8.8	5.4	8.8

*Census, Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904, p. 36.

tively though not absolutely, at both dates, was found in almshouses in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, and the smallest in the Western. In all the divisions, however, there was a marked decrease in both the proportionate and absolute number of children. Many who have been interested in the agitation for the removal of children from these institutions will be disappointed at finding that 2091 children under 16 years of age are still so cared for — or rather so neglected. But it should be noted that nearly one-third are under one year of age.

TABLE XLIX.*

Children under 10 Years of Age in Almshouses.

1880–1903 Census.

Year.	United States.	North Atlantic Division.	South Atlantic Division.	North Central Division.	South Central Division.	Western Division.
1880	6902	3021	933	2358	517	73
1890	4338	1654	779	1375	492	38
1903	2081	741	473	399	426	42

* Arranged from tables in Census Bulletin 154, p. 4, 1890, and Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904. For Census purposes the United States are arranged in the following groups: North Atlantic Division, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; South Atlantic Division, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida; North Central Division, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; South Central Division, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Indian Territory, Arkansas, Oklahoma; Western Division, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.

The large number of infants indicates that many almshouses serve also the purpose of maternity hospitals, and that the children are not retained there after one or two years of age. On the whole, the showing of progress is fairly satisfactory. In those communities where the burden of general pauperism is light, the proportion of almshouse

inmates who are children is large, indicating that this condition is tolerated in communities where relief work has not drawn the interested attention of the community. A comparison of the following table with the one just given will make this point clear: —

TABLE L.

Paupers in Almshouses, 1880, 1890, and 1903.

U. S. Census.

Geographical Divisions.	1880.		1890.		1903.	
	Paupers.	Paupers per Million of Population.	Paupers.	Paupers per Million of Population.	Paupers.	Paupers per Million of Population.
North Atlantic .	33,933	2339	31,143	1789	33,278	1489
South Atlantic .	6,975	918	8,100	914	8,298	754
North Central . .	19,811	1141	25,615	1145	27,745	1001
South Central . .	3,676	412	5,049	460	6,457	427
Western	1,808	1023	3,138	1036	5,986	1346
United States . .	66,203	1320	73,045	1166	81,764	1014

All the geographic divisions except the Western show declining ratios of paupers to population; the decrease is most marked in the North Atlantic, amounting to 300 per million. The South Atlantic States come next with a decline of 160. Mr. John Koren, Special Expert Agent of the Census, thus summarizes the comparison: [1] —

"The fact stands out that the ratio of almshouse paupers to population has decreased, not only in the United States as a whole, but in most of the States. With very few exceptions (Rhode Island and Connecticut) the increased ratios appear in the newer commonwealths, and are attributable for the most part to the ampler institutional pro-

[1] Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904, p. 8. On page 7 is given a detailed table of the number and ratios of paupers to population by States.

visions for dependents and not to an exceptional increase of pauperism. On the other hand, it would be equally a mistake to read in the decreased ratios observable elsewhere merely evidence of correspondingly decreasing want. . . . The rise or fall in the ratios of almshouse paupers to population can only remotely serve as a general index of prevailing distress or prosperity so long as many other factors entering into the problem of poverty remain unknown."

In general, it may be inferred that the decrease in the proportionate almshouse population comes not so much from a diminution of pauperism, as from the differentiation already described. But undoubtedly, better legislation and administration have contributed to the diminution; and finally the development of charity organization societies and of private agencies for the care of children and of needy families has saved a considerable number of dependents from institutional life. Koren calls attention to the fact that in States with the best-equipped systems of organized charity, the pauper ratios have decreased, notwithstanding that some of them contain the largest urban centres in the country.

A third group, which should manifestly be excluded from the almshouse, is the pauper-delinquent. In most States, tramps and disorderly persons are accommodated here because of the lack of any place of safe-keeping between the almshouse and the jail. In the more advanced States such persons are sent to workhouses or reformatories. The disgrace that attaches to almshouse relief will not be lifted until differentiation has been carried a step farther, and there is some classification of inmates on the basis of character as disclosed in individual and family history. Reformatory institutions to which habitual drunkards, prostitutes, and other misdemeanants can be sent, and in which they must remain until reformation or death supervenes, would relieve the almshouse of many inmates, and the worthy poor of a very considerable portion of the disgrace which attaches to going there.

The effect of the drafting off of the special classes to other institutions is seen in the altered character of the residuum. The general average age of 81,412 paupers admitted in 1904 was 49.4 years — much higher than formerly; the largest proportion admitted in 1904 is found in the age group, 60 to 64 years, and 36 per cent of the total admissions were above 60. Of the paupers in all almshouses in the United States in 1904, 43 per cent were over 60 years of age; while in Missouri, where the inmates of almshouses are still of all classes, the per cent of persons over 60 is only 37.

When carried far enough the policy of differentiation leaves in the almshouses only the infirm and incapable. Table LI. illustrates this tendency.

TABLE LI.

PAUPERS BY WORKING CAPACITY.

CLASS.	PAUPERS AT LEAST 10 YEARS OF AGE IN ALMSHOUSES, 1904.					
	Continental United States.	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	North Central.	South Central.	Western.
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE ENUMERATED, DEC. 31, 1903.					
ALL CLASSES, 81,764.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	11.7	15.8	7.2	9.8	6.1	10.0
Incapacitated	85.0	81.0	88.6	87.7	89.9	84.3
Unknown	3.3	3.2	4.2	2.5	4.0	5.7
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE ADMITTED DURING 1904.					
ALL CLASSES, 81,412.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	23.6	29.4	10.6	16.5	12.0	31.2
Incapacitated	67.4	62.6	76.8	77.1	72.3	57.9
Unknown	9.0	8.0	12.6	6.4	15.7	10.9

As tramps and other wayfarers were excluded throughout from the enumeration, the percentages in the table refer to bona fide inmates.

The table shows, as might be expected, that the great urban districts furnish the largest proportion of able-bodied inmates. The high percentage in the Western division is explained by the fact that the almshouses are used as convalescent wards and sometimes are the resort for acute illness. When all is said, however, there remain far too many able-bodied in these institutions, as shown by the chart on the following page, representing the classes in the almshouses of the city of Boston.

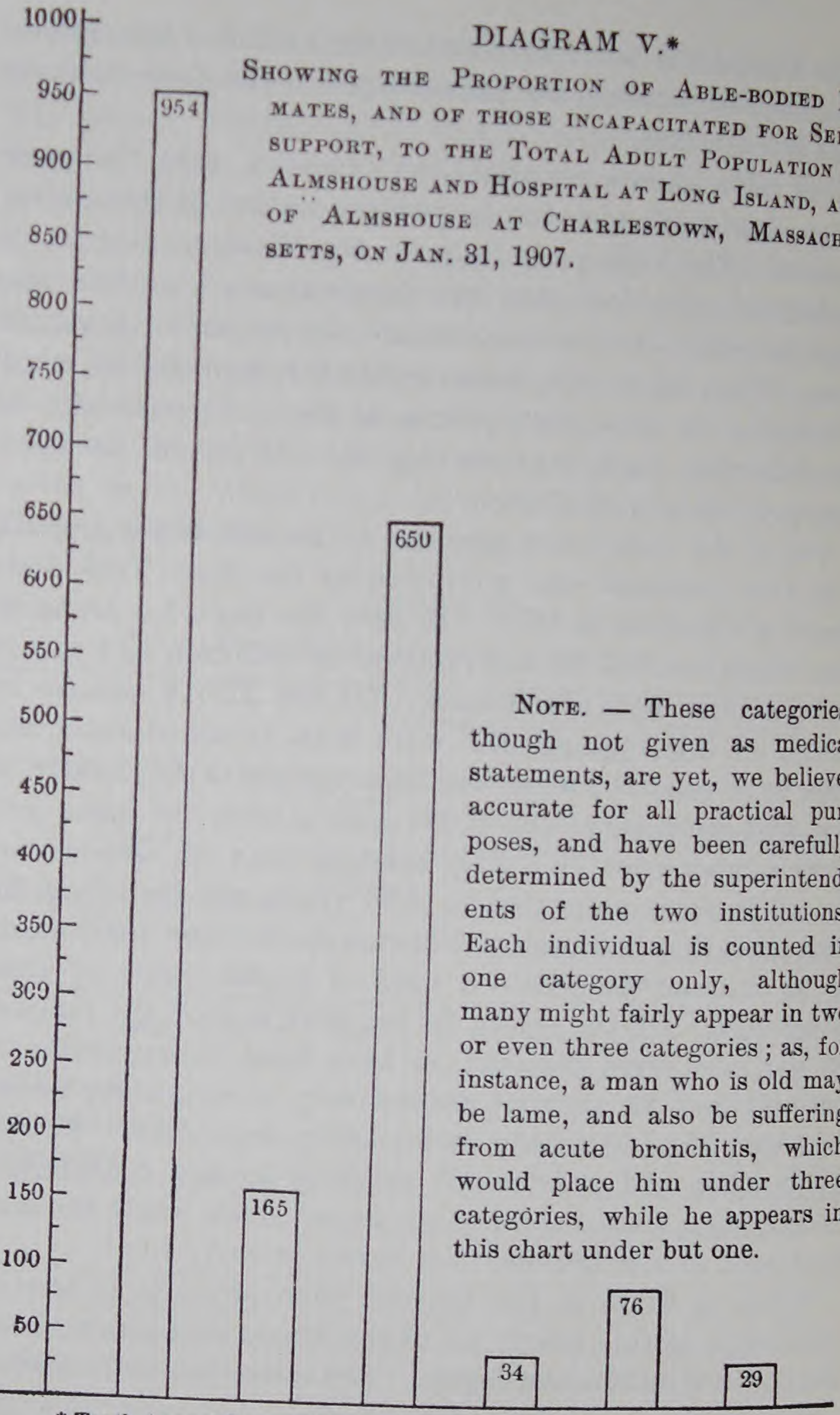
One of the completest pictures of an almshouse population ever presented was published by the New York State Board of Charities in 1877. It gave the basis for an agitation which resulted in the removal of children and insane persons from State almshouses. Of the 12,614 inmates included in this inquiry, 422 were born in almshouses, and 1650 were admitted when less than ten years old; nearly 13 per cent were then under 10, and almost the same proportion were over 70. The average time of dependence for all inmates amounted to 4.88 years, not including the time when they had been public charges in other institutions, or as outdoor paupers — a total of 61,595 years of almshouse care. Of the males, 84 per cent, and of the females, 42 per cent, were believed to have been intemperate; 79 per cent and 21 per cent, respectively, were insane; 65 per cent were unquestionably permanently dependent. Few of the inmates had ever owned property to any considerable extent, some were known to be pauper stock, while the mass confessed to idle and shiftless habits in early life.[1]

While no State at the present time presents as terrible conditions as this, nearly all of the States still retain abuses similar in kind if not in degree. The committee appointed by

[1] Tenth Annual Report, 1877. See Table IX., p. 56, and pp. 108–9, *ante*.

DIAGRAM V.*

SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF ABLE-BODIED INMATES, AND OF THOSE INCAPACITATED FOR SELF-SUPPORT, TO THE TOTAL ADULT POPULATION OF ALMSHOUSE AND HOSPITAL AT LONG ISLAND, AND OF ALMSHOUSE AT CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, ON JAN. 31, 1907.



NOTE. — These categories, though not given as medical statements, are yet, we believe, accurate for all practical purposes, and have been carefully determined by the superintendents of the two institutions. Each individual is counted in one category only, although many might fairly appear in two or even three categories; as, for instance, a man who is old may be lame, and also be suffering from acute bronchitis, which would place him under three categories, while he appears in this chart under but one.

* Tenth Annual Report, "Pauper Institutions Department," Boston.

the town of Hartford, Connecticut, to report upon outdoor relief in that place in 1891, made a careful examination of the almshouse and its inmates. They found that a considerable number of the insane and imbecile were kept there under very unsatisfactory conditions, also some children suffering from paralysis or other incurable disease; that some wards of the building were used as a prison to which police-court cases were sent; and that the most notorious police-court recidivists were most likely to be or to have been in the almshouse.[1]

A recent and thorough study of the condition of the county almshouses of Missouri made by Professor Charles A. Ellwood presents a picture of conditions which are typical of those existing in more than half the States.[2] Table LII. (p. 210) gives the more important facts in condensed form.

It appears that 54 per cent of all inmates are males, 37.7 per cent are over 60, and 4.6 under 18 years of age. Very few of these persons — not more than 15 per cent — are able to do any work; 71 per cent are defective, two-thirds of all almshouses having insane inmates, and more than half of them having cells for the violent insane. Feeble-minded and epileptics constitute 20 per cent of the total, and there were noted instances of feeble-minded women who had become mothers of illegitimate children while in almshouses. Fourteen per cent are blind, crippled, and paralytic; yet only two almshouses in the State have nurses for the sick, and these are not trained nurses.

Turning from statistics of inmates to the provision made for them, it appears that the cost of one-third of all these almshouses was less than $1500; one only is on the cottage plan, fifteen of the institutional type, and all the rest are old farmhouses in different stages of repair. Only five have modern sanitary arrangements. As to management,

[1] Report of Committee, pp. xiii–xiv.
[2] Bulletin on the "Condition of County Almshouses in Missouri," 1904.

TABLE LII.

Statistics of Missouri Almshouses, 1903.

	89 Counties having less than 200 Almshouse Paupers Each.	St. Louis City.	Total.	Per Cent of Total Number of Inmates.
	Number.	Number.	Number.	
Total Inmates	1083	1545	3348	...
Males	1044	795	1819	54.0
Females	759	770	1529	46.0
White	1593	1463	3056	...
Colored	210	82	292	8.7
Age of Inmates:				
Above 60	669	593	1262	37.7
Between 18 and 60	1037	885	1922	57.7
Under 18	87	67	154	4.6
Between 2 and 14	72	20	92	...
Defective Classes:				71.2
Insane	293	884	1177	
Feeble-minded	504	47	551	57.0
Epileptic	96	85	181	
Blind	92	22	114	
Crippled	187	76	263	14.2
Paralytic	67	31	98	
Able to do Some Work	...	...	...	15.0
Management:				
By Lease System	Yes, 55	No	...	...
Cells for Insane	Yes, 54	Yes	...	...
Employment of Able-bodied	Op., 74	Op.	...	...
Religious Services	Yes, 35	Yes	...	...

a majority are under the lease system, that is, let out to the lowest bidder, which makes the superintendent dependent upon what he can save from the inmates.

One superintendent wrote candidly: —

"A few years ago the poor were let at $38.00 per head per year. Under that treatment there were nine out of nineteen that died, and the county had to pay doctor's bill and burial expenses, which cost more than board and clothes. They now pay $72.00 a head per year, and see that it is cheaper and more humane."

As to classification, Professor Ellwood reports that in 14 out of 90 almshouses there is none — not even separation of the sexes; in 50 the only segregation is by sex, in 20 by sex and color; 3 only have adequate classification by sex, race, age, and character. In only 16 almshouses is work required of the able-bodied; the rules of admission are lax and indefinite, and of discharge even more so. As the final touch to this dreary picture, it is reported that only 1 has a library, only 4 have weekly religious services, and 55 have none at all, while amusements and recreation are almost wholly lacking.

A study of 228 almshouse women in San Francisco made in 1895 gives a somewhat different view, and adds some information concerning more modern types of paupers.[1] In San Francisco, the jail, the hospital, and the almshouse are each, in turn, the resort of the typical inmate. They come to the latter to recuperate so long as any vitality remains, and finally return there to die, when completely wrecked by dissipation and irregular living. The women are much completer wrecks than the men, because prostitution gives the idle and vicious an alternative career until the last. Of the conditions which brought them to this pass, Mrs. Coolidge says: —

[1] Coolidge, M. R. (Smith), "Almshouse Women," American Statistical Association, 1895, vol. iv.

"One of the commonest results of immigration seems to be that the children acquire a public-school education, become prosperous, and rise in social station; the old mother or father — foreign, uneducated, often vulgar, and unpresentable — becomes an unwelcome reminder of their common origin, and does not fit into the American life of the children. They are therefore quietly thrown back into the almshouse, where they will be reasonably comfortable and unknown to the children's friends. The old people are often resigned to their fate because they are led to believe that the almshouse is a State institution, and that it is the business of the State to take care of them. Often it hurts their pride less to be dependent on that abstract thing, 'the State,' than upon children and relatives who are ashamed of them. Five have quarrelled with daughters or grandchildren, and are in the almshouse because of spite on one side or the other. This again is a larger factor than appears in numbers. A crotchety, quarrelsome, sensitive old woman, who can do very little work and who thinks much should be done for her, is a serious burden in any poor family, and a source of family trouble anywhere. The majority of women in the almshouse are difficult of temper, and doubtless this was originally a cause of separation from their families in many cases where it does not appear in their stories. Three could be partially supported by their children if they could do even a little housework well or could be left alone at home. In twelve cases there were children who were able, from the mother's own story, to support her, but no satisfactory reason why they did not do so was given.

"Of the 184 children, 40 are 'somewhere'; that is, they have been separated from the mother in one way or another, and she no longer knows where they are. In the majority of cases this occurs because the mother cannot write, or writes with difficulty, not having the habit, and does not therefore keep her connection with her children. The children, usually of the laboring class, drift from one place to another at work, write less and less often, until finally an illness, a lost letter, a wrong address, some trivial accident, breaks the last link which bound them together. The fact that the parent is usually a foreigner, the immensity of this country, and the mobility of the laboring classes, all tend to produce the same pitiable result,— a condition undoubtedly peculiar to American pauperism."

It is encouraging to note that in some of the older States, the almshouse is approaching the practicable ideal. The almshouses of Massachusetts are controlled by the local

Overseers of the Poor, and supervised by the State Board of Charity. For this purpose an inspector is employed who makes regular annual visits and detailed reports; frequent visits are also made by the members of the Board. In addition, there are employed in a large proportion of towns having almshouses, women visitors, who give their services without pay, and whose chief office is that of personal sympathy and comfort for the inmates. In 1908 the State Board of Charity reports as follows: —

"Notwithstanding the continued existence of certain defects and the occasional failure of voters and officials to appreciate the importance of maintaining satisfactory almshouses, during the seven years since the passage of the law specifically providing for almshouse visitation there has been a steadily increasing feeling of confidence in the Board's work on the part of Overseers of the Poor, and a steady improvement in almshouse conditions.

"Of the 197 almshouses, the large majority have wooden buildings. About three-quarters of them are provided with sitting-rooms and bath-rooms, either fully or partly equipped. One hundred and twenty-one have water-closets. Three-quarters of them are heated by steam, hot air, or hot water, and the remainder by stoves. In nearly all cases where fire-escapes are a matter of importance they are provided. Only 35 almshouses have special hospital accommodations. The whole number of inmates of all the almshouses at the time of visitation was 4324, viz. 2402 men, 1829 women, and 93 children, or persons under twenty-one years of age. The whole number of inmates of all the almshouses during the year was 8442. There were 3868 reported as permanent and 456 as temporary ; and 2782 were stated to have relatives in town. Friends and relatives paid for the board of 99. Weekly bathing was generally required. Work of greater or less value was done by a total of 376 inmates. In all the almshouses there was a total of 860 defective inmates, of whom 275 were reported as idiotic, 57 epileptic, 471 crippled, 12 blind, 13 insane, 12 idiotic and crippled, 5 blind and crippled, 2 epileptic and idiotic, 1 feeble-minded and crippled, 1 feeble-minded, 1 feeble-minded and blind, 7 epileptic and crippled, 1 deaf, blind, and crippled, 1 deaf and dumb, and 1 blind and deaf. There was a total of 139 consumptive cases, who in the large majority of instances received special treatment and diet. Almshouse officials are gradually but surely becoming persuaded of the necessity

of separating consumptives from other almshouse inmates, and of providing the best possible treatment and care for them. The number of vagrants in almshouses has steadily decreased from 34,564 in 1901 to 3127 during the last year. Two years ago 89 almshouses cared for 15,491 vagrants, a year ago 61 almshouses cared for a total of 7900, and during the last year 26 almshouses cared for 3127. This reduction has been accomplished both by new legislation and by a stricter enforcement of the law." [1]

The Massachusetts Board reports that owing to closer supervision and stricter enforcement of the law, the old "rounder" has practically disappeared from the almshouses; and that the removal of the insane under the act of 1902 leaves the almshouse to provide for the old, infirm, and crippled, and for temporary cases of poverty, chiefly women with one or more children. For the most part, the 4324 inmates were "worthy poor people to be suitably cared for." Judging from the report, the two most serious defects of the Massachusetts system are the lack of provision for the feeble-minded and epileptic, and of sufficient hospital equipment.

The most significant fact in connection with this steady improvement in recent years is that it has been accomplished almost entirely by the voluntary service of the philanthropic citizens of the State.

Probably a majority of the grave evils which could be charged at the present time to the American almshouse have their origin in a lack of proper classification of inmates. Classification, which takes selected cases out of the almshouses altogether and puts them in specialized institutions, has already been discussed at length, and existing faults arise chiefly from the fact that many of the States have not kept pace with the march of opinion among specialists.

In the main, it may be said that, wherever the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, epileptics, idiots, the feeble-

[1] Twenty-ninth Annual Report, 1907, pp. 6–7.

minded, and children are left in the local almshouse, grave abuses are sure to result, unless there is very efficient supervision; and even then the condition of affairs must be far from satisfactory. While they remain, therefore, they must be given a degree of special care. Idiots should be entirely separated from other inmates, under constant supervision; the feeble-minded should be kept employed, according to their ability, and the women especially must be strictly supervised and separated from men; epileptics should never be left alone, and should be kept employed as much as possible.

In proportion as these classes have been removed, classification within the almshouse will be simplified, but it is always important and demands constant care and readjustment. There are four lines of segregation generally laid down as fundamental: by sex, by color, by health, and by mental and moral character. The neglect to separate the sexes is partly the result of unsuitable construction of buildings, and partly of the low-grade character of the officials in charge. White and colored inmates should be distributed in duplicate cottages or wards.

As we have already seen, two-thirds of all almshouse inmates are incapacitated in one way or another, and 37 per cent of them are over 60 years of age. With the elimination of all special classes, the almshouse becomes primarily what is called in Ohio an infirmary. The Visiting Medical Staff of the Long Island (Massachusetts) Hospital state the situation clearly: —

"In addition to the large number suffering from well-defined disease, there are many others who, through infirmities of age, should be classified as hospital or infirmary patients. . . . The number of the chronic sick is evidently increasing year by year. . . . Are they to be treated simply as city charges, or are they to be given the advantages of the best possible modern medical treatment under conditions which will remove them from the social stigma of pauperism? . . . Ordinary justice requires that the latter course be adopted." [1]

[1] Ninth Annual Report, "Pauper Institutions Department," 1906, p. 12.

Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln for some years urged that the sick poor, no matter where they may be found, should receive the same care as other sick persons; that they need the same nursing, the same nourishing food, and the same cleanliness and care — in short, there should be no difference between an almshouse hospital and a general hospital.[1]

Although extensive hospital facilities are not practicable, nor required in small almshouses, there are certain provisions essential everywhere. A special ward for general diseases is often necessary, even in small institutions; cancer patients must be isolated because of the offensive nature of their malady in the later stages; and tubercular inmates should not only be in separate cottages, but should have their own attendants.

A classification on the basis of habits, character, and a degree of refinement is usually not attempted, although it is of great importance to the inmates. It is a great hardship for the respectable who have seen better days to associate with the intemperate, diseased, and disreputable; but aside from this obvious demarcation, the almshouse inmate is often sensitive about social distinctions and has as strong preferences as to companionship as other people. Such peculiarities must be considered if the inmates are to be kept comfortable, and the utmost tact, patience, and ingenuity are required to adjust these relations satisfactorily. In the San Francisco almshouse, instead of wards they have a large number of rooms — a form of construction which is undesirable, but which was at one time used to good purpose to give the self-respecting and improvable cases a semi-privacy which they valued.[2]

[1] N. C. C., 1902, "The Almshouse Hospital."

[2] This large institution was in charge of Mr. and Mrs. P. L. Weaver from 1889–1897. Especially on the women's side, Mrs. Weaver's methods of classification wrought notable results. Those who were ambitious in a way, and anxious to keep their rooms in good order, were grouped in the

But no amount of ingenuity on the part of the managers can wholly overcome the difficulties arising from unsuitable construction of buildings. Neither the converted farmhouse nor the institutional dormitory, several stories in height, admits of proper classification of the aged, sick, and infirm. It is now agreed that the cottage plan is best adapted for the purpose by its greater flexibility. Not the least of its minor advantages is the fact that it permits the superintendent and attendants to be "segregated" also, in their hours off duty.

This leads to the discussion of the amount of land which should be attached to the institution. The original idea of the "poor-farm" was that the able-bodied should earn a portion of their living, and the manager should also earn a portion of his own salary by cultivation of the land — as ministers often did in former times. In proportion as the able-bodied, the young, and the special classes generally have been excluded, the ability of the inmates to work has been declining. The result of this is that the superintendent is chiefly engrossed in farming to the neglect of the inmates. It is, moreover, a doubtful economy, since supplies can be purchased cheaply in bulk. But the greatest disadvantage is that it necessitates the location of the almshouse in the country, where it is rarely visited, and where

rooms along one corridor, while certain women who had no ambition and no willingness to do anything unless compelled to it, had rooms along another corridor. The inmates themselves called the first "Grand Hall," and the second, "Pauper Alley." Women of one of these localities were disinclined to associate with those of the other. In filling the various rooms, constant effort was necessary to adapt properly the dispositions of the several occupants. Mrs. Weaver at one time had quite a number of inmates with whom no one wished to room because they were such terrific snorers. They were not even congenial associates for each other. She finally hit on the device of putting a snorer in a room with a woman who was hard of hearing. This almost absurd illustration shows what inventiveness and constant personal attention are necessary in order to fit the inmates of an institution properly together.

the provision of amusement and religious services are made difficult. There should be only enough land retained to furnish occupation for the few semi-able-bodied and for pleasant grounds about the cottages.[1]

Of the almshouse abuses which result from the mistakes or wrong-doing of individual officials, we shall say but little. Among them may be enumerated dishonest or wasteful management of the funds; culpable stinginess, resulting in inadequate or unhealthful food, lack of proper buildings, heating apparatus, clothing, and so forth; insanitary conditions, including dirt and vermin; and finally, actual cruelty, resulting from either brutality or neglect on the part of the officials in charge. Few understand how easy it is for an official in charge of the utterly helpless to do cruel things without intentional cruelty. In the rural districts especially, abuses are apt to arise because so few persons concern themselves with the institution. The superintendent has dreary work, small pay, and practically no general recognition of his services, whether they be good or bad. A sensitive, high-minded, ambitious man is not likely to apply for or accept such a place. The incumbent is, therefore, almost of necessity a tolerably stolid, unsympathetic person, and one who has not been very successful in other lines. The officials under whom he works send to him a miscellaneous assortment of the diseased, defective, and incapable, but do not give him the proper facilities for providing for these various classes. They cut his appropriations to the lowest possible point, and he fears that any vigorous protest would lose him the place. He therefore concludes that he may as well get along as best he can, since to object would only bring some more docile man into his place. On the other hand, most of the inmates with whom he has to deal are bad-tempered, unreasonable, and inveterately querulous. They would com-

[1] An account of a profitable county poor-farm is given in Bulletin of Illinois Board of Charities, October, 1907.

plain, no matter what might be done for them; and he gradually acts on the unrecognized impression that it does not matter what is done for them — that anything is good enough for them. He becomes brutal unconsciously, and almost in self-defence. After a few years he does, without question, things that would have seemed absolutely awful to him when he first entered on his duties. No influential person reviews and criticises his conduct, and he not unnaturally settles into the conviction that he is managing the almshouse as well as the community cares to have it managed. One can but sympathize with such an official, even when very grave abuses have grown up under his management.

All these tendencies are exaggerated wherever the almshouse is managed under the lease system, making the wages of the superintendent dependent upon what he can make off the farm and save from the inmates. In Missouri the system has been shown to be uneconomical, and as Professor Ellwood says, — nobody claims that it is humane; if it is not cheaper, the only argument in its defence falls to the ground.

The second great evil which springs, not from the character of the officials, but from the nature of our almshouse organization, is laxness regarding admission and discharge of inmates. Since every person is entitled to be saved from starvation and from death by exposure, — which is nearly all that the almshouse does for its beneficiaries, — any one may claim its shelter. But as it is not a penal institution, and as it is to the interest of no one to have persons stay there who can support themselves outside, an inmate wishing to discharge himself is allowed to do so. To the average almshouse official this justification of our laxness is entirely conclusive. Whatever official or board may have the legal right of admitting or discharging inmates, the right of applicants to be admitted or discharged is regarded as inalienable.

The results of this apparently defensible practice are thoroughly bad. Of the abuses to which it gives rise, we may mention as of least importance the support by the county of persons having pensions or property, or relatives able to support them. In some States, even where it is found after death that an almshouse inmate had considerable property, no attempt is made to recoup the county or town for the outlay.[1] A second and more serious abuse is the making of the almshouse a winter resort for tramps, and a place where the drunkard and the prostitute can recuperate between debauches.

The accompanying table, showing the mobility of the almshouse population in San Francisco, is typical of the conditions in many other cities.

TABLE LIII.

NUMBER OF TIMES ADMITTED AND READMITTED AFTER DISCHARGE.*

San Francisco Almshouse, 1889-1894.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-18
Total Number	2819	701	306	157	113	64	48	41	28	88
Per cent . .	64.3	16.1	7.0	3.6	2.6	1.5	1.1	.9	.6	2.0

* Coolidge, "Almshouse Women," p. 225.

The Federal Census of almshouse inmates in the United States shows that in the course of the twelve months after Dec. 31, 1903, the admissions almost equalled the total almshouse population on that date, and the discharges were only a few thousand less. Excluding deaths and transfers to other institutions, there were 54,199 permanent or temporary discharges, of whom only one-fourth were dis-

[1] A number of San Francisco miners have been supported at the almshouse, and twelve women were found there whose children should have supported them.

charged to the keeping of relatives or friends.[1] The Hartford Committee reported a man whose clothing, supplied at public expense while he came and went at pleasure for two years, amounted in value to $85.28, while the man was receiving at the same time a federal pension of $8 per month.

The final and worst result of permitting the destitute to admit and discharge themselves at will is that it enables the dissolute and degenerate to have offspring "after their kind." The results are most manifest in the cases of feeble-minded women. Mr. Charles Booth gives an instance of an English woman who in a little more than eight years presented the rural workhouse at Ashby-de-la-Zouch with five illegitimate children. In the workhouse this woman was capable and industrious, and a good nurse.[2] After giving numerous examples in her paper entitled "One Means of Preventing Pauperism," Mrs. Lowell says: —

> "I speak chiefly of women, because they form the visible links in the direful chain of hereditary pauperism and disease; but it must not be forgotten that the treatment here prescribed for them (indeterminate sentence to reformatory institutions) should also be applied to the reformation of the men, whose evil propensities are likewise handed down from one generation to another." [3]

A special committee of investigation in Boston reported the cases of two women who had been admitted to the Home for Paupers eight and four times respectively in six years, and commented as follows: —

> "These two young women, one of whom is now at liberty on the city streets, have cost the city for the board of their five illegitimate children, still at Marcella Street Home, the sum of $1,855.53. Two of these children are defective and will long be a care to the city. Women like these have no will-power of their own; they need restraint for their own good. They are too weak to withstand temptation, and should not thus needlessly be allowed to walk into it." [4]

[1] Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," p. 11.
[2] "Pauperism," etc., pp. 117–118.
[3] N. C. C., 1879, p. 195.
[4] Report Special Committee to inspect Public Institutions, 1892, pp. 28–29, 40.

There is probably no almshouse in the country which has not one or more such records to show.

The remedy for the abuse of the privileges of admission and discharge is investigation of the history of all applicants for admission, a legal commitment and discharge by a board or committee, of which the superintendent and matron shall be *ex-officio* members. In proportion as the irresponsible and the delinquent are drafted off to special institutions, the decent remainder may be granted greater liberty, such as is safely permitted in German almshouses.[1]

A third very prevalent evil in the management of American almshouses is lack of a work test, and a failure to enforce proper discipline among the inmates. While in some places an energetic and specially capable official may overcome all obstacles and enforce discipline and compel work, yet such an undertaking is usually discouraged, or at least not encouraged, by the authorities, and the sentiment of the community and the nature of legislation are usually such as to make this course difficult. Under the average superintendent, as a rule, it costs more to set the inmates of an almshouse to work than their work is worth. That is, a given number of inmates can be supported more cheaply in idleness than when they are put to work. It is for this reason that the labor in the English "workhouse" has degenerated so persistently into mere task-work.

The principal advantage in obliging all inmates capable of doing anything to work consists in the deterrent influence of this policy upon would-be applicants. Its influence is especially valuable in preventing tramps from using the institution as a winter club-house. In most almshouses the main part of the work that can be offered to men is on a farm or in the garden. This kind of work is unavailable in the winter, just at the time when a rigid work test is most essential. In many institutions no inmate is required to

[1] Lincoln, N. C. C., 1898.

work unless he is willing to do so. Some superintendents seem to think it the height of brutality to ask an inmate to do anything against his will; and such service as can be utilized is usually obtained by offering extra rations of food and tobacco. The amount of patience, ingenuity, and energy necessary to make such work profitable, and to fit such laborers — who for the most part have failed to fit anywhere else in the industrial world — into some task suited to their limited capacity, requires a degree of ability and moral fibre rarely to be found in an almshouse official. Under the management of Mrs. Ellen Armstrong Weaver, the women of San Francisco almshouse reached a high degree of industrial efficiency, considering their capacities. A prostitute nursed a bedridden girl to whom she had become attached; a deaf and difficult old woman washed, dressed, and fed, as if she were a baby, a deaf, dumb, and blind girl; a woman nearly blind and knotted with rheumatism braided rag rugs; a feeble-minded Swedish woman made fine lace; a well-educated woman did fine sewing and read the daily paper aloud to the women in the sewing room. All the sewing and mending for the 900 inmates, and all the cleaning of the women's wards, was done by the women.

From the side of the inmates, work for all is desirable because they are happier for having it. About the only happy persons one finds in an almshouse are those who are occupied. Idleness conduces to restlessness, sensuality, bad temper, and various forms of nervous disorder. In almshouses, as well as in prisons, insane asylums, and other kinds of institutions, discipline is doubly hard when the inmates are idle. That idleness in and of itself brings misery, can be seen by any one who passes through one of our Soldiers' Homes, especially the magnificent one for soldiers of the regular army at Washington. So well is this fact now ascertained that special societies are formed in the large cities for giving employment to the inmates of the great

public institutions. Efforts in this direction were begun in 1893 at the City Hospital on Blackwell's Island, New York, by the County Visiting Committee of the State Charities Association, and during the last three years the work has been greatly enlarged. Teachers have been sent to municipal hospitals and homes for the aged and infirm to instruct the inmates in a variety of handicrafts. The effect of employment in Ward L, a ward at the home for the aged and infirm on Blackwell's Island, is thus described:[1]—

"Ward L is the ward devoted to the crippled, paralyzed, rheumatic, epileptic cripples. . . . I found sixty men sitting there doing nothing, the very picture of desolation. . . . To speak a cheery word in such an atmosphere seemed mockery. . . . There has come about, in process of time, what I call the transformation or the transfiguration of Ward L, and all this has taken place through the introduction of the bead work. . . . With some persuasion, they induced one or two to enter into the work. The interest spread until 20 out of the 60 were engaged in it. . . . They were impatient when the supply of beads gave out. The clamor was for more beads and more looms. The whole character of the ward was changed. A joke was in order, cheeriness and good will were the rule."

Many other handicrafts have been introduced: one man illuminates texts; another man has earned a phonograph for the ward by his knitting; others make raffia and osier baskets, Smyrna rugs, and carved wooden articles. The disciplinary and curative results of the work are highly encouraging, and the avenues for the development of the work are many. There ought to be similar societies, or at least similar work done, in our rural communities; if it accomplished nothing else, it would at least interest some of the influential classes in the neglected institutions of the locality.

It is evident that many of the abuses which we have been discussing will still occur even when capable and conscien-

[1] *Charities*, March 4, 1905; *Charities and the Commons*, 1906, May 12, November 17.

tious officials are in charge, primarily because of neglect by the general public. Professor Ellwood suggests three lines of effort toward correction: the visitation of almshouses by local boards of visitors, inspection of state officials, *i.e.* Board of Charities, and mandatory and prohibitive legislation. The three methods will naturally be evolved and become effective in the order indicated. Following the example of English administration, there is some tendency in America to State control of almshouse administration.

If there could be in American almshouses thorough investigation of all applicants for admission and all applications for dismissal; if within the institution there could be a thorough discipline and an intelligent and kindly application of the work test to all capable of doing anything at all, there would be no danger that almshouses would be overcrowded; if in addition there could be a higher class of officials in charge, if the standard of medical care and nursing could be raised to that of the general hospital, and if some means of relieving the dreary monotony of the life were afforded, the almshouse would afford cleanly and honorable relief to the real children of misfortune.

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLIC RELIEF OF THE POOR IN THEIR HOMES.

OUTDOOR relief does not have the same meaning in different places and according to different laws. In England, it usually means all relief that is given outside of the workhouse. The indigent insane, consequently, who are relieved in special institutions, are classed among those receiving outdoor relief. The same policy is followed in the parts of the United States where English precedents have obtained. For instance, in Massachusetts what is called "State outdoor relief" is given to the poor who have no local settlement, such as the sick and diseased who are placed in hospitals; and the administrative expenses of the department are reckoned in with the amount spent for outdoor relief; consequently, only a small modicum of the expenditure really goes in temporary aid to the poor in their own homes. Those who dispute about the advisability of outdoor relief create confusion by sometimes including and sometimes excluding such relief when given from private funds. Unless otherwise specified, the term "outdoor relief," as used in this volume, will mean the relief given from public funds to the poor in their homes, not including medical relief.

Outdoor relief in the United States is given by county and township officials; and from its nature the bookkeeping is likely to be faulty, especially as to the number of persons aided. In most Western States, as, for instance, in California, there is no State official to whom the county and township authorities are called upon to report. They

publish no annual accounts, except such as may be found in the local papers annually or semi-annually; and those who have undertaken to study the problem of outdoor relief in these States have had to get their facts by personal visits or correspondence with the local officials.[1]

In twenty-four States, relief of the poor in their homes is legally authorized, and several others may authorize it at discretion; only a few Southern States give outdoor relief. As pointed out in the previous chapter, its fundamental principle is that the aid shall be temporary or only partial. The evils connected with this form of relief have long been a matter of controversy, and in this country the agitation against it has gained headway in almost direct proportion to the density of population. The flagrant abuses of the system in the large Eastern cities led to a concerted movement for doing away with it from 1878 onward.

In order to make clear the chief points involved, the arguments for and against the method will be set down categorically. The following are the principal reasons given by those who believe in retaining it as a fundamental part of the relieving system: —

1. It is the *natural* and therefore the kindly way to help, because it grows out of the neighborly relations of rural communities. The poor person is not separated from relatives and friends, families are not broken up, and the receipt of relief is not as conspicuous and consequently as disgraceful as it is where resort must be had to an institution.

2. It is economical. Many families can almost support themselves, and it seems folly to dismember them and place the children in refuges or board them in private families, and compel the adults to resort to the poorhouse, when a little relief given in the home would keep the

[1] In 1880 the Federal Census published some fragmentary statistics on this subject, but none were collected in 1890 or in 1900; there are, consequently, no figures for the country as a whole.

family together and enable them to make part of their support by ordinary methods. Mr. F. B. Sanborn, in 1890, cited the example of Massachusetts, where the average annual cost of each outdoor pauper, or recipient of family aid, was less than $40 a year, while the cost for each indoor pauper was $139; and if the interest on the institutional plant and equipment were added, would be at least $180 yearly.

3. There are not institutions enough. The demand for relief always keeps considerably in advance of the supply; and it would be uneconomical, and in fact impossible, to have buildings enough to accommodate all who should be relieved from time to time. Especially in the winter months, a large number of persons need relieving for a short time; and if the almshouses were large enough to accommodate them during the winter, there would be great buildings vacant during the summer.

4. Individual private charity — the other alternative of public outdoor relief — is unreliable and, in times of special distress, insufficient. Some of the worthy poor are likely to be neglected, while relief to others will be duplicated, and these latter are sure to be pauperized.

This gives certainly a good *prima facie* case for the retention of a certain amount of outdoor relief. On the other side, the following considerations are urged: —

1. The kindness is apparent rather than real, for, except in the smallest communities, the administration is in the hands of officials who have no personal knowledge of the applicant and who can neither investigate nor discriminate. It has long been a principle that any work was suitable for a government to do in proportion as it could be reduced to a routine and done in a semi-mechanical way. As the work of giving outdoor relief should not be done in this semi-mechanical way, it is unsuitable for public officials to undertake.

2. It tends to increase the number of applicants, because it is less manifestly disgraceful than the indoor system, and is much more pleasant to receive. The saving in cost for a single person supported is more than made up by the additional number of persons that will claim to require relief. It is a sufficiently pleasant form of being relieved, so that if no requirement except indigency is made, a large number of persons will become duly indigent in order to qualify for the receipt of alms.

3. Corruption of politics invariably results from the system, and the whole tone of the population is likely to be lowered. In many cases, it is unworthy motives favoring the retention of the system that makes it difficult to secure its abolition.

4. Where outdoor relief has been given lavishly, as in England at some times and places, it has simply resulted in reducing the rate of wages, the amount given in relief being reckoned on as a possible resource, so that the employee would accept lower wages than would otherwise have been possible.

5. It is not educational either to the recipient or the official donor. In the one it tends to destroy thrift and self-restraint; in the other it encourages a spirit of complacent generosity without any corresponding personal sacrifice and exercise of judgment. Any charitable method which does not develop both sympathy and discrimination is about equally injurious to the administrator and the recipient.

A comparison of the two general lines of argument for and against public outdoor relief makes it apparent that those who favor the system of outdoor relief usually argue upon theory, or draw their facts from rural communities, where the problems are comparatively simple, and where abuses are readily checked. They generally lay the emphasis upon institutional care as the alternative method, while

as a matter of practice in communities where public relief in homes does not exist, the alternative is outdoor relief by organized charity.

The opponents of the system, on the other hand, point to the facts, especially the experience in dispensing outdoor relief in large cities. The most instructive experiments that have been made in this matter in the United States have consisted chiefly in cutting off peremptorily the supply of outdoor relief. The historic illustration of this sort is the city of Brooklyn, first reported to the National Conference of Charities in 1879 by Seth Low. The statistics of outdoor relief in Brooklyn from 1870 to 1884 are given in Table LIV.

TABLE LIV.

BROOKLYN POOR RELIEF, 1870–1884.*

	POPULATION.	OUTDOOR RELIEF. PERSONS AIDED.	INDOOR RELIEF. PERSONS AIDED.	COST OF OUTDOOR RELIEF.	ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR. AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED.
1870	396,000	38,170	8,542	$163,437	$21,851
1871	414,000	35,658	9,234	141,208	22,011
1872	432,000	22,863	8,999	95,771	21,821
1873	450,000	25,033	7,487	100,555	22,211
1874	468,000	30,411	7,343	134,935	23,466
1875	485,000	35,850	7,923	116,967	24,366
1876	501,000	44,208	9,155	98,815	23,000
1877	518,000	46,330	9,268	141,137	20,818
1878	534,000	46,093	9,706	57,054	18,824
1879	551,000	stopped	10,231	stopped	16,640
1880	567,000	. . .	8,736	. . .	14,774
1881	584,000	. . .	10,347	. . .	17,716
1882	601,000	. . .	11,121	. . .	18,050
1883	619,000	. . .	11,678	. . .	22,246
1884	639,000	. . .	11,190	. . .	19,061

* From Devine, "Public Outdoor Relief," *Charities Review*, vol. viii , p. 188.

From these figures it is seen that between 1872 and 1877, inclusive, the number of beneficiaries increased 100 per cent. In 1877 one person in every sixteen of the population was receiving outdoor relief. The description of the abuse is given in Mr. Low's own words: —

"The system had become furthermore a sore on the body politic. The friends of politicians received help whether needy or not, and so the system was perpetuated. Families with voters were the first served. The 'outdoor relief' appropriations became a vast political corruption fund. Large numbers of the population were taught to rely on the county help, and sought it for no other reason than that the county gave it. One woman received help under nine different names. Many sold what they received. Men came from the country every autumn to live at the expense of the city during the winter, because the city was offering a premium to the idle to come there and live in idleness. The poor did not get the chief benefit of increased appropriations. Most of it went to underlings connected with the work of distribution. In every way, and in every direction, the effect was hopelessly bad.

"In 1875 the Commissioners of Charity employed paid visitors to investigate the cases of applicants for relief; and it cost sixty cents to distribute every dollar's worth of food or fuel. This was so monstrous that public clamor compelled a change. In 1876 the visiting system was abandoned, and all applicants were compelled to take oath that they were paupers. As may be imagined, the result was horrible. Moreover, many who lived in New York availed themselves of such easy opportunity to be fed by Brooklyn."[1]

At the urgency of an association formed under the auspices of the State Charities Aid Association, between 200 and 300 volunteer visitors were set at the work of investigation in 1876–1877. As a result, the visitors were convinced that many families habitually applied for relief merely because their neighbors were receiving it, and they recommended the abolition of outdoor relief, by stages, if necessary. The Commissioners of Charities did not accept the recommendation, but in 1878, the whole system

[1] N. C. C., 1879, pp. 202 ff.

having been discovered to be illegal, it was suddenly discontinued.

To the surprise of all, no increased demand fell upon the private relief agencies during the winter following, no suffering appeared, and the numbers in almshouses did not increase. In fact, the figures in Table LIV. show a steady decrease of relief per capita in the years following. This was due, no doubt, partly to the return of business prosperity after the panic of 1873; but it is believed that it also represents to some extent a recovery from the pauperism induced by lavish and indiscriminate public relief.

The experience of the State of Indiana, which has recently applied to the administration of outdoor relief the principles of organized charity, is even more instructive than that of Brooklyn. Under the law of 1853 in Indiana, poor relief was given by the trustees of more than 1000 townships; the amount was left to their judgment, and they might in their own discretion send the applicants for relief to the county poor asylum or grant them relief in their homes or transportation to the next township. The Boards of County Commissioners were also permitted to give annual allowances and medical aid. Under this system, very serious abuses grew up. The township trustee, elected by popular vote, was inexperienced, poorly paid, and subject to political pressure and the demands of friends; the County Commissioners often gave when the trustee refused. Under this system, the average amount paid in outdoor relief between 1890 and 1895 was $550,000 annually. The first step toward reform was a law secured by the State Board of Charities in 1894, requiring accurate statistics of the relief given to be reported to a State officer. The information obtained was startling: one in every 31 of the State's inhabitants was receiving relief, the proportion in different counties varying from 1 in 13 to 1 in 208; in some of the richest counties the number aided was 1 in 16 to 1

in 20. As a result of agitation on the basis of this information, a law was passed in 1899, which is said to be the first application of charity organization principles to an entire State. The law provided for the investigation of each case by the overseer of the poor; for securing the help of the friends and relatives of the applicant; for compelling the able-bodied members of the family to work; for refusing transportation to all except the sick, aged, injured, or crippled, and then only in the direction of his legal residence; for coöperation with private relief societies; for limiting the relief power of the County Commissioners, and the amount of temporary aid.[1] The law has been strengthened and improved in recent years, and the results are shown in the following comparative summary for 1895 and 1905: —

	1895	1905
Cost of relief to each state inhabitant	$.29	$.10
Highest per capita cost	.68	.29
Lowest per capita cost	.06	.03
Counties in which per capita cost was below 10 cents	2	49
Counties in which per capita cost was above 30 cents	35	0

The relation of the total cost to taxation is shown in Table LV.

TABLE LV.

OUTDOOR RELIEF IN INDIANA.

YEAR.	TOTAL COST OUTDOOR RELIEF.	TOTAL NUMBER TOWNSHIPS.	TOWNSHIPS NO TAX LEVY.	LEVY UNDER 5 CENTS.	LEVY 5 CENTS AND OVER.
1898	$375,206	1014	64	515	435
1899	320,667	1014	50	607	357
1900	209,956	1016	146	644	226
1901	236,723	1014	154	620	240
1902	266,876	1015	181	611	223
1903	245,745	1015	233	617	165
1904	281,105	1017	224	649	144
1905	249,884	1016	289	581	146

[1] For full text of law, see Indiana Bulletin of Charities, etc., March, 1905.

The sudden decrease of outdoor aid from $375,206 in 1898 to $209,956 in 1900, shown in this table, would naturally have been reflected in an increased population in the county poor asylums. Indeed, when the law of 1899 was passed, there was considerable anxiety felt as to the adequacy of the poor asylums to receive the number that would be thrown into them. Yet, in spite of a decrease of 34 per cent in outdoor relief between 1899 and 1900, the number in asylums also decreased from 3133 to 3096, and from year to year since, as the administration of outdoor relief has become more business-like, the number in county asylums has not increased, although there has been a considerable increase of general population. The State Board of Charities reports an improvement in the condition of the poor themselves, although the administration of the law is not yet wholly free from abuses.[1]

An example of outdoor relief, well administered, but still held to be injudicious and harmful, is found in the town of Brookline, a suburb of Boston. The administration of relief was in the hands of certain women trustees, who gave outdoor relief with a work test during a series of years. Previous to 1883 full or partial support was given to 150 persons. These were warned three months in advance that no pauper rent would be paid after May 1, but that the almshouse would be open to any one needing shelter. On the 1st of May, 22 adults and 7 families, numbering 33 persons, became self-supporting; 10 adults and 9 families, consisting of 39 persons, assumed the payment of their own rent, asking only partial support from the town, and in no case was the offer of the almshouse accepted. The total expenditure for poor relief for the town fell from $8487.50 in 1882 to $7794.49 in 1883, and in 1893 was $7218.28.[2] Mrs. Codman says: —

[1] For full account, see Indiana Bulletin of Charities, etc., March, 1906, which contains statistics, maps, and bibliography.

[2] Pamphlet by Joyce, pp. 3–5.

"I have no hesitation in saying that the whole tone of the population has been raised, and that to 'come upon the town,' at one time regarded as the natural and proper thing to be done, is now looked upon as a disgrace. . . . Self-respect and independence have been encouraged, and the race of paupers within our limits has very nearly disappeared." [1]

There is no well-authenticated instance where outdoor relief has been stopped and any considerable increase either of private charity has been required, or any marked increase of the inmates of institutions has occurred. The only suggestion that has ever been made as to evil results from the experiment in Brooklyn is that the number of dependent children increased after outdoor relief had ceased to be given. But the number of dependent children also increased in other parts of New York, where no change in outdoor relief administration had occurred, indicating that it was a change in the laws affecting dependency among children that produced the increase. As administered in the United States, it is found, apparently, that public outdoor relief educates more people for the almshouse than it keeps out of it, and that therefore it is neither economical nor kindly.

It is equally evident that institutional care alone will never be sufficient, even if desirable, to provide for all the poor. The question raised is not between public outdoor and institutional relief, but between public and private outdoor relief. It must be confessed that the abuses resulting from private charity have often been quite as serious as from public relief. Moreover, the evils of public relief, as illustrated in the cases already described, merely show that uninvestigated public aid is harmful, but do not prove that, if carefully administered, it might not be preferable to individual charity.

[1] Mrs. Codman, N. C. C., 1891, p. 49. It should be said that Brookline is a thriving and fashionable residence suburb of Boston, and the character of the population added from year to year has not been such as to lead one to expect a proportionate increase of pauperism.

There is a consensus of opinion that relief in homes is, for those on the verge of dependence, the ideal method; and an almost equal agreement that it is difficult to administer, and must be limited in amount. Whether it can best be supplied by the State or by private charity, can only be answered by experience. Frederick Almy, of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, presented at the National Conference in 1900 a table of the forty largest cities in the United States, first, in the order of least public relief, and second, in the order of least private relief.[1] The results are represented in the diagram on the opposite page.

Mr. Almy's conclusions, as shown by the figures and the diagram, are that a city which gives no public outdoor relief must give a considerable amount of private outdoor relief; and *vice versa*, when there is no private relief, public relief increases. It seems clear that public relief checks private charity, for of the ten cities that give liberal public outdoor relief, there is not one that gives liberal private relief, and of the ten that give liberal private outdoor relief, there is not one that gives liberal public relief.

The dotted curved line of the diagram shows that private relief averages little more than one-third the cost of public relief. The average per capita cost of the cities which depend wholly upon private relief is $6\frac{2}{3}$ cents, and of those which depend wholly upon public relief, $17\frac{1}{3}$ cents.[2]

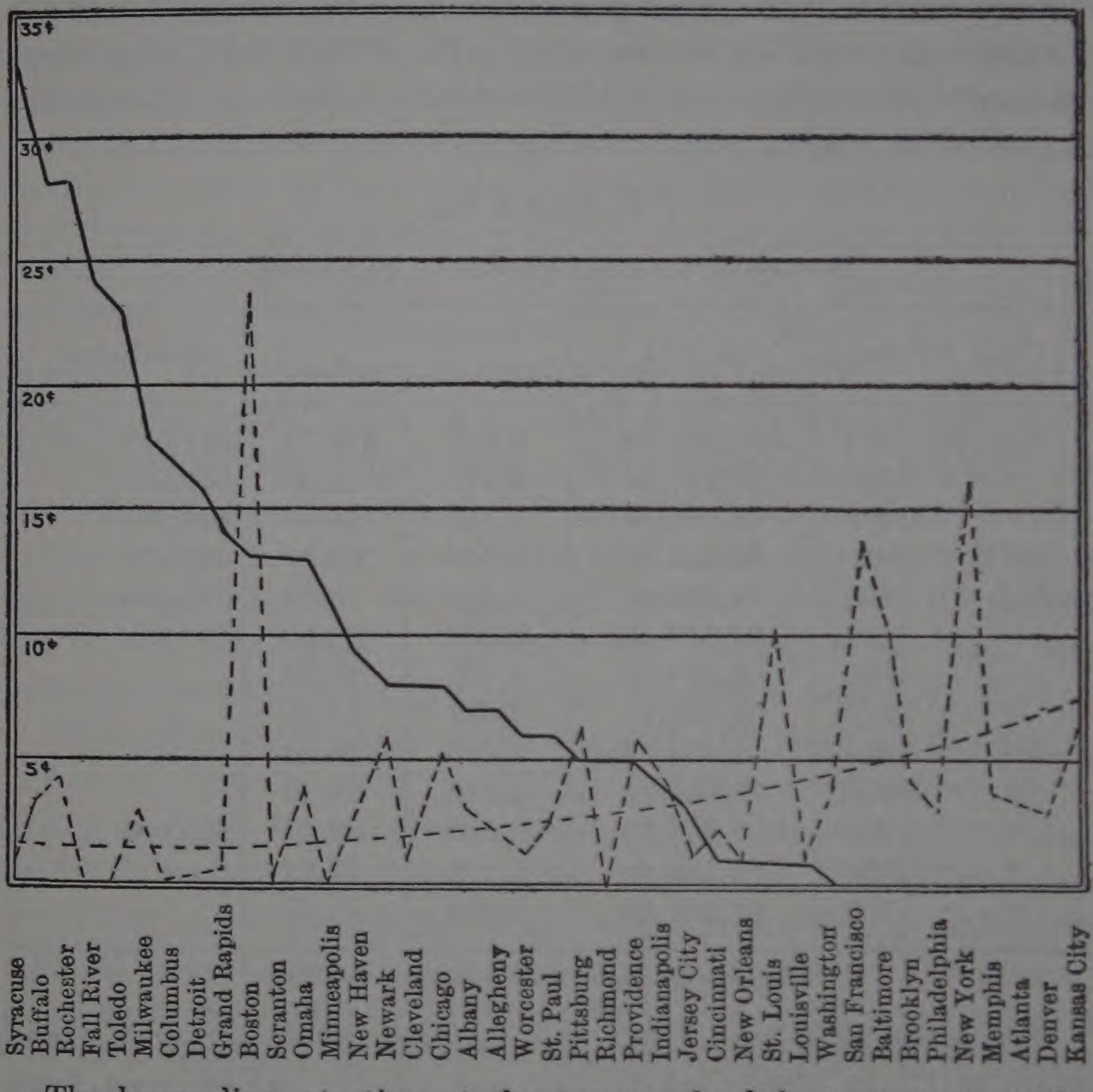
Although it has been shown that liberal public relief tends to check private charity, it does not appear that abundant private relief reacts in any degree to diminish public outdoor relief. In the city of Boston, where the per

[1] About one-half of the cities having over 200,000 population give no public relief: viz., New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Baltimore, San Francisco, New Orleans, Washington, Kansas City, and Louisville.

[2] For details and discussion from which these conclusions are extracted, see two valuable articles by Almy in *Charities Review*, vol. ix., 1899, Nos. 1 and 2; and articles in N. C. C., 1900, pp. 134 ff.

DIAGRAM VI.

Relation of Private to Public Outdoor Relief.*



The heavy line, starting at the top on the left, represents public outdoor relief, which stands at thirty-four cents per capita at Syracuse and falls to nothing at San Francisco and the eight following cities. The related movement of private outdoor relief is shown by the dotted line starting at the bottom on the left. Thus, where public relief of thirty-four cents per capita is given (Syracuse), the private relief stands at zero; where public relief is thirteen cents (Boston, Scranton, Omaha), the corresponding amounts of private relief given vary, standing approximately at twenty-four cents in Boston, zero in Scranton, and four cents in Omaha. The name of each city is printed

* Almy, *Charities Review*, vol. ix., p. 31, 1899.

capita expenditure for private charity is probably higher than anywhere in the country, and where public relief is administered with intelligence and thoroughness, it does not decline perceptibly in amount. In Table LVI. the total amounts expended for public outdoor relief are shown for a period of years.

TABLE LVI.

Outdoor Relief, Boston, 1877–1907.*

Year Ending	Amount.	Number of Families.	Amount per Family.	Population.
Apr. 30, 1877	$80,341.89	6,627	$12.12	341,919 (1875)
" " 1880	56,777.36	4,277	13.28	362,839
" " 1885	64,292.96	4,132	15.55	390,393
" " 1890	56,414.96	2,509	22.48	448,477
Jan. 31, 1895	75,900.47	4,006	18.95	496,920
" " 1900	64,502.42	2,836	22.53	560,892
" " 1901	63,298.30	2,707	23.38	. . .
" " 1902	64,391.41	2,637	24.42	. . .
" " 1903	63,499.14	2,420	26.24	. . .
" " 1904	70,041.91	2,346	29.86	. . .
" " 1905	67,668.86	2,248	30.10	620,000
" " 1906	68,148.89	2,202	30.84	. . .
" " 1907	66,079.13	2,060	32.07	. . .

* Reports of Board of Overseers of the Poor.

Between 1880 and 1907 the number of families declined from 4277 to 2060, while the per capita relief rose from $13.28 to $32.07. This would indicate a policy of making

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directly under the points in the lines showing the amounts at which the public and private relief, respectively, stand in that city. Dividing the cities into four groups of ten each (excepting Boston, which will be explained later) and averaging the private relief of each group, four points are obtained. Connecting these by a curved line, the result (slightly idealized) is the dotted line shown on the diagram. This may be taken to represent the average movement of private relief in relation to the decrease of public relief.

relief more adequate, but does not suggest that public outdoor relief is economical. In spite of the fact that the Overseers of the Poor are an excellent body of officers, the opinion of the leading charity workers in Boston is almost unanimous against outdoor relief. They hold that private charities could do the work as well, that public relief is too easily assumed to be a right, and that in the matter of relief the Overseers do not supply either ideals or inspiration.

The effect of careful investigation upon the amount of relief given is illustrated by the history of outdoor aid in Buffalo. In 1876 Buffalo, then a city of 140,000 inhabitants, was aiding 14,375 persons at a cost of $112,054, or .799 cents per capita of the population. This extravagant outlay was one of the chief causes of the establishment of a Charity Organization Society, which has now for thirty years, continuously, investigated the applications for city relief. Table LVII. (p. 240) shows in detail the expenditures and the remarkable decline in the amount of public outdoor relief.

This table shows that more than 10 per cent of the population of Buffalo were receiving outdoor city aid in 1876, and less than 1 per cent in 1907; 3778 families were aided in 1876; only 775 in 1907. The first great falling off from $112,000 in 1876 to $29,000 in 1880 was due to the substitution of investigated for uninvestigated city aid; the second drop from $118,000 in 1898 to $38,000 in 1902 was due to a vigorous attempt to develop constructive work as a substitute for charity among those who were conceded to be poor. Mr. Almy, of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, in commenting on these figures, says, that the chief difference between charity organization outdoor relief and city outdoor relief is that the former always carried with it a plan and follow-up work, while city aid has neither. He adds: "I have never heard of any one from the city poor office interviewing a landlord, or the holder of a mortgage, looking for employment, overhauling the plumbing which

TABLE LVII.

Outdoor Relief in Buffalo, 1875–1907. C. O. S. Records.

Year.	Population of Buffalo	Number of Families receiving City Aid.	Total Expenditure for Outdoor Relief.*	Expenditure per Capita of Population.
1875	136,426	. . .	$73,277	.5371
1876	140,168	3,778	112,054	.7995
1877	143,911	2,030	100,637	.6993
1878	147,653	1,967	61,489	.4164
1879	151,396	1,589	41,784	.2759
1880	155,137	1,139	29,296	.1888
1881	165,872	1,089	42,849	.2583
1882	176,607	1,058	32,360	.1832
1883	187,342	1,048	36,496	.1948
1884	198,077	1,395	40,557	.2047
1885	208,812	1,857	52,700	.2523
1886	219,547	1,247	47,889	.2181
1887	230,284	1,355	45,195	.1962
1888*	. . .	. . .	41,924*	. . .
1889	. . .	. . .	41,402	. . .
1890	255,664	. . .	43,522	.1706*
1891 }	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
1892 }	. . .	. . .	79,728 †	. . .
1893	. . .	2,861	57,336	. . .
1894	. . .	3,368	81,492	. . .
1895	. . .	2,764	102,200	. . .
1896	. . .	3,876	82,870	. . .
1897	. . .	4,166	108,918	. . .
1898	. . .	3,699	118,803	. . .
1899	. . .	2,188	104,107	. . .
1900	352,387	1,686	64,586	.1832
1901	. . .	1,296	49,312	. . .
1902	. . .	1,102	38,851	. . .
1903	. . .	1,092	34,473	. . .
1904	. . .	1,179	36,115	. . .
1905	. . .	1,102	33,246	. . .
1906	400,000	880	32,099	.0824
1907	. . .	775	31,418	. . .

* Totals from 1887 to 1897 do not include "sundries."

† This figure $79,728 covers 18 months, from January 1, 1891, to June 30, 1892.

causes disease, or visiting a family after aid stopped." In a paper at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1904, Mr. Almy suggested that the overseers of the poor in cities and towns should try the experiment of district committees and volunteer coöperation for investigation and constructive work, or even attempt the Elberfeld system outright.

Charity workers in the smaller cities are generally in favor of private rather than public relief, even where they feel that the community is not yet quite prepared to abolish it. In the rural and sparsely populated districts of the West especially, the county system of local government adds to the difficulty of administration. In the smaller area of a township the officials are measurably well acquainted with the people, at least until the population becomes dense, and the people scrutinize public expenditures quite carefully; but under the county system, until the population is large enough to compel the employment of special officials, the writing of orders for outdoor relief is frequently left to the individual supervisors or commissioners. As a rule, each one attends to all applications from the district from which he is elected, and the approval of the entire board is a mere formality. The payments are sometimes made in money, sometimes in orders on stores, and sometimes relief is given in goods purchased by the authorities under contract. Obviously this latter method lends itself least readily to abuse. Where orders are given on stores, the goods selected by the beneficiary are often absurdly unsuitable to his conditions,[1]

[1] See Hartford Report, pp. xix, xx, and Table VII. On 594 orders, 132 articles were drawn, among which were canned lobster, green peas, pie, pineapple, canned salmon, and tobacco. There was also some evidence that the orders were used in trade and payment of debts. This system prevailed until recently in the urban county of Alameda, California. In 1905 three supervisorial districts placed the investigation of out-relief applicants in the hands of the Associated Charities, with the result that the amount disbursed fell from $22,930 in 1904 to $10,157 in 1906.

and in the State of California such orders are frequently traded for liquor.

It is not without significance that the movement to do away with public outdoor relief has kept pace with the development of charity organization. The older type of private outdoor relief — unsystematic, purely palliative — is rapidly being replaced by the constructive ideal of organized charity. Of this ideal, relief — even adequate relief — is the smaller part, since it aims to restore, develop, and educate the family. The excuse for outdoor relief is the typical dependent widow with young children; but in such a case, though public relief may pension the family, it does not do the constructive work of a district agent and a friendly visitor.

In all large centres of population there are certain societies which, together with the churches and private individuals, do a considerable amount of relief work. These agencies dispense an amount which is not large as compared with the total public expenditures for the relief of the poor, but which is sufficient to accomplish a great deal of good or evil in the populations among which it is scattered. Those who insist that public outdoor relief should be abolished, believe that these private associations, in conjunction with the Charity Organization Societies, should care for the cases to whom the alternative of going to the almshouse would be an unmerited hardship. They insist that the private associations are more economical, sympathetic, and discriminating, and since their treasuries are not replenished from the proceeds of taxation, but from free-will offerings, the poor cannot make demands upon them as of right. The experience of Chalmers has often been pointed to as showing that public relief can be swept away entirely, and private benevolence take its place. While those who would imitate him would not go as far as he did, they do ask for the substitution of private for public outdoor relief.

It is undoubtedly true that private associations are best fitted to deal with incipient dependency. But at just what point the line should be drawn between public and private charity, it is difficult to say. If the State should assume the care of those who need control as well as support, as Miss Richmond has suggested, then outdoor relief would be left to private undertaking.

On the whole, it must be admitted that the advisability of giving outdoor relief is chiefly a question of administration. Under the Elberfeld system in Germany, and with the great care exercised by the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* of France, it has been successful. But it must be remembered that the people of the United States have a larger share of administrative awkwardness than any other civilized population. Nearly all the experiences in this country indicate that outdoor relief is a source of corruption to politics, of expense to the community, and of degradation and increased pauperization to the poor. Even at its best, it has not been found a satisfactory method of relieving distress. In the new communities of the West it has seemed to be almost necessary; but it is always to be watched with care, to be kept at a minimum, and in large cities to be definitely prohibited.

But it should not be forgotten that private charities are just as open to abuse as public ones, though not to exactly the same abuses. In places where the State has relegated much of the work of relieving the poor to private benevolence, and especially to the church, abuses have grown up of as great magnitude as those that preceded the reform of the English poor-law in 1834, while at Elberfeld the present excellent public system originated in a breakdown of the private system. There is a possibility of success or failure by either method; but experience seems to indicate that in the United States, at the present time, private is much safer and more helpful than public outdoor relief, and indeed that the latter should usually be discontinued.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE HOMELESS POOR.

In all times of industrial depression, the number of the unemployed is apt to be exaggerated. During the depression of 1873–1878 it was alleged that there were 300,000 mechanics out of employment in Massachusetts; and the statement went unchallenged for more than a year, while figures then available would have shown that there were only 318,000 men in the State engaged in the mechanical pursuits, and the investigation made later by the State Bureau of Labor indicated that the number of unemployed mechanics was less than 30,000. During the depression following the crisis of 1893, the trade-union estimates put the number out of work at about 4,500,000; more conservative estimates, at about 1,000,000. Returns made to Bradstreet's, the results of which were published in December, 1893, show that in 119 cities 801,055 men, with about 1,956,110 persons dependent on them, were out of employment. Carlos C. Closson found in sixty cities 523,080 idle men, an estimate sufficiently close to Bradstreet's return for the same cities to make it probable that these figures actually reflected the facts.

A careful investigation of enforced idleness was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor during the depression of 1885. There were during that year, in Massachusetts, 816,470 persons engaged in gainful occupations; of these, 241,589 were unemployed during part of the year. The time lost, if we consider only the principal occupation of each individual, was 82,744 years; but many persons, when unable to work at their principal occupation, had some